

L I F E

OF

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON.

VOLUME II.

“Ἄλλο εἶδος, εἰάν αὐτός τις ἢ γεννάδας τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τούτου
εὐγενή φασίν. ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΗ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗ τῆς ἄρα εὐγε-
νειας, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐπικεικὼν, τὸ δὲ δυναστῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐνδόξων, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΠΟ
ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΟΚΑΤΑΘΙΑΣ”

“And, lastly, him also they call noble that hath his own inbred dignity and
greatness of spirit THIS IS THE BEST KIND OF NOBILITY So that nobility hath
its ground either from ancestors eminent for justice, or from such as have held
place and power, or from such as have acquired rank and fame; or FROM A MAN'S
OWN UPRIGHTNESS AND HONOUR”—PLATO, *quoted by SELDEN*.

L I F E

OF

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON,

COMMANDER OF THE IMPERIAL MILITARY ORDERS OF MARIA THERESA OF AUSTRIA,
AND ST GEORGE OF RUSSIA;
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE ORDER OF THE RED EAGLE OF PRUSSIA,
AND OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF ST ANNE OF RUSSIA;
KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE MILITARY ORDER OF THE TOWER AND SWORD,
OF THE TURKISH CRESCENT,
AND OF THE ORDER OF MERIT OF SAXONY,
COUNT OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE,
ETC., ETC., ETC

FROM AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS, JOURNALS, NARRATIVES,
CORRESPONDENCE, &c

EDITED BY HIS NEPHEW AND SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. HERBERT RANDOLPH, M.A. OXON.

VOL. II.

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LIFE

OF

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON.

CHAPTER VI.

Sir Robert Wilson embarks for Norway—Copenhagen—The Danish king; his Queen Matilda—Dantzic; description of the city—Proceeds to Königsberg—The Prussian royal family—Dines with the king—French and Prussian armies—French defeated by Prussians—Close of an eventful year—Young princesses of Prussia—Hurricane and snow-storm—John Sobieski—Quicksands—Journey with Count Lindenthan—Arrival at Schwarzort—Lord Hutchinson's quarters—Distress of the Queen of Prussia—Town of Memel—Strength of Russian army; its high order and gallantry—King of Prussia relies on England—Honourable devotion of the Prussians—Prince and Princess of Orange—Dines with the king—The Queen of Prussia, compliment from her Majesty—Bonaparte's arrival at Warsaw—The Polish insurrection—Dilemma of Prince Hatzfeldt—French general proposes a conference—French army sickly and discontented—Capture of General Victor—Satisfactory news from Austria

[THE expedition to the Cape, like the expedition to Egypt before, disappointed Sir Robert Wilson's reasonable hope of acting effectively and meritoriously in command of his corps. But in both instances his watchful energy and intelligence found incidental opportunity of beneficial service, which secured for him increasing credit with his superiors in command and with the public and the government at home.

Wherever he was employed he extended the circle of his private friends among men the highest in

rank, position, and character; and in all societies, among men of every nation, by his personal qualities he sustained and elevated the credit of his country.

The intimations of his friends at home, which induced him to press his return, soon received confirmation. Within three months after he landed in England from the Cape he was "directed to proceed on the staff* of Lord Hutchinson then going on a mission to Berlin."]

Astræa Frigate, November 4, 1806.
Latitude $54^{\circ} 10'$, Longitude $4^{\circ} 30'$.

We embarked from Yarmouth at eight o'clock yesterday morning. Admiral Russell attended us to the beach. We weighed anchor at nine. The wind blew fair and fresh until the evening, when for several hours we were vexed by an adverse gale.

November 26,
Naze of Norway distant 5 leagues.

The gale continued with such increased fury as to become a hurricane; but about midnight of the 25th it lulled. The weather is cold: we see the Norwegian mountains covered with snow. About this time last year I was scorching under the Line; but as pride knows no pain so ambition disdains to own the heavy charges of her maintenance.

November 29, 1806.
Lat $47^{\circ} 36'$, Long. $8^{\circ} 30'$; Scaw Point distant 15 leagues.

The night before last, about ten o'clock, the wind shifted and our hopes were reanimated: but at two

* The staff consisted of Lieut-Col. Eustace, Christopher Hutchinson Lord Hutchinson's brother, Captain Harvey; and Sir Robert Wilson. Colonel Sontag was the Prussian envoy —R.W

o'clock it rose to tempest violence and blew dead on the Norwegian shore, so that we were obliged to beat out of the *Sleeve*—so called from being a long, narrow strait that divides Denmark from Norway—into which we had entered in the hope of getting through into the Cattegat. Our anxiety was great for it was a most terrific storm: the sea ran so high as to break over the men in the foretops, and there was scarcely an authorized expectation of weathering the Naze of Norway when the wind in happy time shifted: but the ship was strained so much from the necessity of carrying some canvas that she leaks eight inches an hour. Surely there is a peculiar ill-fortune that persecutes me in navigation. The wind is now fair and we are proceeding rapidly; but alas! we only see the page in the book of fate which relates to the immediate moment.

Dec. 2.—With feelings of gratitude to God that I am now living to write I proceed to describe, as well as words can do it, the scenes that have passed since the 29th of November. When I reflect on those scenes actual earthly existence appears a dream, and I view myself as if I had once passed the gates of mortality.

On the night of the 29th a fine clear sky and a fair but strong wind, tempted us to leave the “*Sleeve*” and run into the “*Cattegat*” I laid my bear-skin down by Lord Hutchinson’s cot; and frequently rose during the night to look at the weather, from an inward apprehension which I could not remove from my mind. It was near seven o’clock, and I had just time to lie down after one of my observations of the course of the ship, running eleven knots an hour, when Captain Dunbar rushed into the after-cabin, and

coming to Lord Hutchinson acquainted him that the ship was aground. He had scarcely said so much when we experienced several heavy shocks. We rose up; and day began to dawn: but it brought no other relief than the sight of a lighthouse on a small island called Anholt, distant five miles. Signal guns of distress were fired, but Captain Dunbar judging that we might get off the bank, as he found fifteen feet of water all round her and she drew only three feet more, immediately commenced lightening her by throwing overboard guns, provisions, stores, &c. During this time she occasionally beat heavily; and once the shock was so violent that the ligament of the ham of my leg felt as if broken by the concussion. About nine o'clock she began to leak, and men were ordered to the pumps. No assistance appeared from the island, and our situation momentarily became more alarming; for the *Astræa* is an old vessel, having been above thirty years in the service.

About twelve o'clock a sail was descried, beating; as was supposed, towards us. Every one was confident of the fact except myself, who checked the idea from fear of a mournful disappointment: and the event proved my judgment to be correct, for the ship disregarded our firing and signals of distress and soon passed from our sight. The wind was now so violent and the sea ran so high that no boat could reach the island, and the villainous pirates who have their abode there were insensible to our piteous situation. All that could be thrown overboard was by this time in the sea; and although the ship once changed her position, she seemed to be so fixed in a bed of sand that no further efforts could avail. A

sea about one o'clock rushed up the rudder-head, forced off the bulk-heads, and burst into the cabin. Lord Hutchinson and all of us then thought that the whole matter of anxiety was closed, and everyone prepared himself for momentary dissolution. Lord Hutchinson and his brother, with Colonel Eustace, sat quietly in the cabin expecting the end : and I went on deck with Harvey. The ship now beat heavily, and seemed to break about her centre ; and the sails, which were still set in the hopes of forcing her over the reef, bent her as a bow. She writhed so that one might imagine her to feel conscious of the necessary struggle, and as if the effort occasioned her pain. It began to rain and was so cold that I went into the cabin for my greatcoat, and there saw the same sorry yet encouraging spectacle : men who had every reason to wish for life prepared for death in the service of their country. And yet I could perceive that Lord Hutchinson would have wished that he had no brother on board to share his fate.

I went up again, but as I left the cabin my eyes cast what then seemed a farewell earthly regard towards those friends : and as I went on my thoughts revolved on the chances of speedily being again associated with them in another state. I had not the smallest expectation of preserving life : and yet I determined not to sink prematurely into the deep ; for I remembered that my wife and children demanded as a right the struggle which, however, I was well assured would only be protracted suffering. Captain Dunbar considered the boats a precarious, nay, desperate exchange, and doubtful, particularly at the last moment ; since they could not carry half the

number on board and those would occupy them who could force possession.

It is true that Lord Hutchinson might have reasonably required a boat before this time ; but he remembered that he was a British officer and the representative of the British army in this case, so he would claim no preference in preservation ; and we all of course resolved to abide with him until the waters should separate us and oblige individual action.

The masts had not yet been cut away, because it was presumed that if the chance of forcing the ship over the reef was thus removed there was no other ; and that then the crew might become disorderly, which would increase the scene of confusion and augment the misery. But as the ship beat most violently and night was drawing on, Captain Dunbar determined on this measure that the wreck might hold together until morning ; when the wind might moderate and the people yet be preserved. A sail, however, hove in sight, and for a few minutes suspended the stroke of the axes : but she moved on, not noticing or indifferent to our calamities, and in a short space afterwards our main and mizen-masts were hewn and had fallen overboard.

In these melancholy moments I could not but feel admiration at the grandeur and awful sublimity of the spectacle. The horizon was muffled in the blackest clouds, which as they rose became empurpled : the billows of the ocean foamed, and seemed to dash into the dark mantle of the sky : while the crackling of the lofty honours of a British man-of-war that but a few hours before was proudly lashing the surge, connected with the view of so many human beings in the

prime of life standing undaunted on the verge of eternity, was truly a picture exciting the strongest emotions that arise from a sense of the majestic and the terrible.

I had observed that the ship again turned round, and the master, on my noticing it, said that she seemed as if slewed on a movable pivot; but intimated no hope. A few minutes afterwards, Captain Dunbar, who was watching the wreck of the masts floating by, exclaimed, as he curved with extended arms and grasped hands in an agony of joy and yet doubt, "She floats! She floats!" A horrible silence prevailed for a few seconds, when the man at the helm sung out, "Steady she goes!" A thundering shout of thanksgiving to the Almighty burst forth, and was re-echoed from every part of the ship. Captain Dunbar rushed to the capstan, and, overcome with transport of exulting success, laid down his head. The officers, who had hitherto shown the most extraordinary intrepidity, fortitude, and judgment, as if stirred beyond the power of restraint by his example, rushed to embrace him. Such an affecting scene baffles delineation: for who can, by realizing description, have his feelings worked up to that enthusiasm which can alone conceive the depth of our emotions?

Our situation did not, however, justify relaxation of exertion. The vessel when floating had three feet of water in the hold, and made one hundred tons an hour. She was so light that there was much reason to apprehend her oversetting, and she had no sails to keep her in the course necessary for the attainment of safety. Our boats were adrift with several men in them, and

therefore to anchor was an inevitable necessity. We all went to the pumps, and encouraged the crew by such an example. At the same time a mizen-jurymast was erected, and the ports which had been broken to get out the guns were fastened in. We then took some food, and Captain Dunbar distributed to every one what he had in store that could cheer officers and men. He had proposed not to make sail before daylight: but the water came in so fast that he was obliged to relinquish that intention, and to cheer the exhausted men with the prospect of earlier relief. This resolution, however, was not adopted without much anxious deliberation: and Captain Dunbar was only determined at last by Lord Hutchinson and all of us requesting him to undertake the measure, as we were prepared for every hazard. At midnight the cable was cut and we rolled on deeply but safely, so that in a short time our fears on account of her lightness subsided: but she increased so much in her leakage, that Captain Dunbar again reminded us that our peril was imminent. Indeed we all felt more now for our safety than when the frigate lay on the bank, as then hope was unreasonable: but the wish and love of life returned with the possibility of preservation. We at length made the Roll light, which informed us that our track was correct; and this circumstance tended to invigorate all hands, while the officers and carpenter carefully concealed the alarming increase of the leak from the knowledge of the sailors.

About seven o'clock we approached the Swedish shore and the entrance of the Sound; but were again very near a sand-bank, from which we were diverted

by the timely interference of Captain Dunbar, who now resolved to be his own pilot. About eight o'clock the boats came out to our assistance as we passed through the Sound; and a supply of fresh hands secured the safety of the vessel, and gave partial repose to our gallant but almost exhausted crew. About ten we cast anchor in Elsinore roads; and the captains of the *Alert*, *Ariel*, and another ship of war, repaired on board and, to their surprise, saw a ship then floating which had sailed twenty-five miles without her masts, and made thirteen feet of water in an hour latterly.

Lord Hutchinson sent me on shore to wait on the governor, and I sprang on the land with gratitude in my heart to the Almighty Disposer of events who had so miraculously interposed to prolong our lives.

Thus terminated our affliction; but the impression will ever remain and influence, probably, my future actions in life. A shipwreck in a high northern latitude in the month of November, where there are sixteen hours of darkness in every twenty-four, added to the former sufferings I have experienced at sea, is enough to enfeeble the ardour of any man who never had much predilection for navigation; and will justify, I think, a coyness to embark again on perilous voyages for *private* inducements: *my country* commands my devotion and every personal sacrifice. This is written after a long journey from Elsinore to Copenhagen; and I have sat up from twelve until three o'clock in the morning to afford an interesting narrative for my wife's perusal: since the only time that I can secure for this duty is that which I can spare from my repose.

On the 2nd I waited on the governor of Cronberg Castle—an old man, but very communicative.

The next morning, having walked round the town which, although very good has nothing remarkably worthy of notice except Cronberg Castle—a fine old fortress that presumed to arrest, or rather make the attempt to arrest, the progress of Nelson's fleet—we went all in one coach to Copenhagen.

The distance is about twenty-five miles—the people, the houses, the arrangement of the farms, and the appearance of the country, very much resemble England; and I am no longer averse to the idea of a mixture of Danish blood in my veins. The day was very cold and the ground covered with snow, but we reached Copenhagen about seven o'clock in the evening and went to Bowes' hotel; a large house, where there is a crowd of Prussian refugees.

Dec. 4.—Yesterday morning I went over the town, and found much to admire. There are several large squares, the streets run at right angles, and the palaces are numerous. The people are well dressed, the equipages good, and comfort prevails. The crown prince is at Kiel: but the king is here and we have heard many amusing though sad anecdotes of his madness. He is kind and well disposed when restrained from mischief. He goes into public twice a week, and signs all state papers: occasionally thus—"Christian Rex and Co."

It is pretended that the Danes have never forgiven the attack upon their fleet: but we experience only civility, and the Danish government has rendered every assistance to the *Astræa*, which is now lying high and dry in one of the royal docks. I was much

surprised at the condition of their troops, whom I little expected to find very well composed, equipped, and clothed. The crown prince has given much attention to the army, and he can bring into the field seventy thousand men: exclusive of a militia the best modelled in Europe—since the soldiery only serve six years and then are militiamen for life. The time is approaching when there may be occasion to employ these forces—Denmark must fight or fall.

We dined yesterday with the English minister Mr. Garlike. Count Bernsdorff the Danish minister of finance, the Russian, Swedish, and Imperial ministers were present, besides other distinguished officers. Our entertainment was sumptuous, but, as each dish was handed round, too long. Mr. Pierrepont, our minister at Stockholm, was also there, and in Mr. Garlike and his secretary of legation Mr. Hill, I recognised old acquaintances; particularly in the latter, who was very civil to me at Trieste, and whose name has before appeared in my journals. Dantzic, it is presumed, is still in the possession of the Prussians. There are about twelve thousand men in it commanded by Count Munster, who is resolved to make a gallant resistance. Exclusive of this number, there are about twenty-seven thousand men on the Vistula who are veteran troops: and the levies are being urged on with all possible force. The king is at Graudenz. Colberg still holds out. All accounts agree that the inhabitants of Lubeck have endured every atrocity that a licentious soldiery could commit; so that the example of their sufferings may injure the French cause.

I have just been to see the arsenal, where there are

twenty magnificent ships of war, and all appurtenances for the building and equipment of many more. In short, the more I see of this place, the more I am convinced that Denmark has not yet been sufficiently estimated as a power.

A guard of cavalry is at this instant passing. The dragoons are dressed in yellow ; with helmets on their heads on the crest of which flows the horse-hair. Their appointments are very good, and the horses better than are common on the Continent.

The conduct of the Danes in Nelson's battle authorizes a belief that they are a warlike people, and that their military have more than the semblance of warriors.

Dec. 6.—Mr. Garlike entertained us on the 4th *en famille* ; but gave a most elegant entertainment. I do not know that at any house in England I ever saw such excellent arrangements ; with profusion there is yet a peculiar delicacy.

After dinner we went to Count Oxenstiern, the Swedish minister. From thence to Count Schimmelman, the finance minister and the chief person in this country. Here was a large party ; and as it was his birthday his adopted daughter—the child of a carpenter and a very pretty girl—and his niece, gave a concert, and afterwards with the young Countess Munster danced a ballet.

The *élite* of the land were here assembled. All indeed were noble, and a more agreeable society I never was in. The Countess Schimmelman—an elderly person—was singularly affable, and distinguished by her attentions as our hostess. The Countess Ranzan is one of the most accomplished women I ever met ; and we all agreed that if there

was not so much beauty there was far more interesting society than in English assemblies, and the utmost propriety without the least affectation. Every one strove to treat us with distinction, and our reception was highly flattering to the English character: but their frequent exclamation—happy England!—was a mournful compliment; since the impending danger of their own country was contrasted in that reflection. “*You go abroad,*” they said, “to fight for the honour of your country. *Our husbands and children* must soon sustain an unequal fight on their own soil, for their native land.”

Yesterday we saw the barracks for the sailors, who are in this country all registered and have houses to dwell in with their families during their lives. An admirable institution, and one which might be introduced with much benefit to our seamen in England: I may say also to her own interest; of which the shouts in the *Adamant* at the report of peace afford presumptive evidence.

The palace of Rosenberg is remarkable only for the garden, in which the public may walk, with its handsome exterior railing. Along this, at the interval of about fifteen yards, are small elegant stone buildings in which shops are to be fitted up when the whole is complete.

In the king's stables we saw a great many bad horses. The carcase of the burnt palace is close by—an immense pile of building now refitting; but several years will elapse before it can be inhabited.

This town is indeed a superb assemblage of buildings, and I have not yet been able to discover a bad street or an alley. There is, however, a de-

ficiency of equipages, and but little movement in the streets.

At the play in the evening we saw the king and two princesses, his nieces—very beautiful girls; one eighteen, the other sixteen years of age. The youngest is indeed remarkably handsome. The king was all movement. His box is of considerable length, and he walked up and down frequently with impetuous haste, then laid down on the sofa, then hid himself behind the curtains. In short, acted like a maniac, except that he did not speak. The play was dull enough, and the house badly lighted; but before it was finished, I went with Captain Dunbar to the private door at which the royal family enter. Here I saw the king quite close. He hurried into the carriage and looked most wild. The princesses went in the next carriage, and showed considerable curiosity; as they kept their heads even out of the windows until the carriage drove off, to observe us. They are short, but have very pretty figures. I never saw such a wretched coach as theirs and the king's—our hackney carriages are far superior.

Mr. Garlike is very anxious that we should be introduced to the princesses; and they also wish to receive us, since there is the greatest disposition to distinguish the English; but whether the matter can be arranged, as the crown prince's wife is not here, seems doubtful. However, Mr Garlike is gone to day to see whether this difficulty may not be overcome.

I have heard many anecdotes of the unfortunate king that are sufficiently amusing, but I doubt much whether he is unhappy. This I know, that he has not the cares of other sovereigns, for he does not know that

such a being as Buonaparte exists. It is true, but extraordinary, that some of his people are so ignorant of his condition that two men came the other day from Holstein to complain of the crown prince to him.

They keep the king in order, it is said, with some coercion. When in public, at supper, his chamberlain forces him down if he attempts to rise; but once or twice he has succeeded in starting away. He also once struck the eldest princess a box on the ear in presence of the court. He is so fond of drawing naughty figures on the card-table and elsewhere, that an old lady generally sits by to wipe them out with her elbow. His figure is small and mean; the misfortunes of his Queen Matilda have certainly been among the causes of his malady: but she knew him to be insane before that period, since he told her previously that he was not the King of Denmark but of Sardinia, and that he was his own son. This speech first gave the alarm of his approaching illness.

We are in anxious expectation of Captain Pakenham with his man-of-war brig, ordered round from Elsinore for our convoy; and shall embark in the morning early if he arrives this day. Fortunately for us, and the world I may add, the frost is breaking up, and thus the progress of the French may be interrupted for some time. From all quarters we hear the most dreadful accounts of the French proceedings in the places they enter. Every crime is committed by them, and several women of the noblest families are here, who, to escape the most infamous violence, were obliged for some days to seek shelter in the woods.

I have, however, a foreboding that their sanguinary career is about to be checked, and that their own blood

is to fill up the measure of suffering which this war exacts from mankind. With a conviction that such crimes have merited such punishment, I shall witness their immolation ; and feel thankful that I have been preserved to be an instrument of most just retribution.

Dec. 7.—On my return from walking out, I found a note from Mr. Garlike, acquainting us that the princesses had appointed half-past six o'clock for our presentation. We dined at home, and went to the palace in time. Here we were received by the chamberlain, who ushered us into the royal apartment where the two princesses were ready to receive us, attended by Countess Levishoff and Countess Munster. The affability and manner of these young women charmed us all, for the undertaking was arduous : more ease or grace could not be displayed by personages of greater ages and more habituated to receive strangers. They conversed on various subjects in the French language, and were particularly pleased at being told that this country resembles England, which is in truth the case. They also regretted the absence of their brother, who, they were assured, would very much lament that he had no opportunity of showing us attention. We remained about half an hour and then retired. I do not think there can be a stronger evidence of the good disposition of Denmark towards England than this introduction affords.

The princesses were dressed in mourning for the Duke of Brunswick. The youngest is extremely pretty, with a remarkably elegant foot. The eldest stoops : and this affects her appearance.

This morning Kit Hutchinson and I have been

round the churches. There are none very handsome or worthy of notice ; but they are fitted theatrically, with tiers of private boxes, so that by drawing a green curtain every person may pray in seclusion. I believe that if this were the case in England, some of our crowded churches would soon have vacant places. In every church there is a royal box, and the king goes to one or the other every Sunday.

The *Sparrow* brig of war is just arrived, so that if the wind becomes fair we shall sail in her to-morrow for Dantzic or Memel. Dantzic is still defended by a Prussian garrison ; but we apprehend that the French have occupied the road from thence to Warsaw.

We have all been this morning to see Fredericksburg, one of the royal palaces, about a mile distant from the town. The grounds are pretty, the view fine, but the house miserably bad. The king chiefly resides here in summer, and amuses himself with billiards.

On our return I went with Lord Hutchinson to the arsenal to take a farewell look at the *Astræa*. She is so badly and generally injured that there are but faint hopes of repairing her.

No news of my horses. Their absence, and the want of a servant, distresses me much. We embark to-morrow at daybreak, and the weather promises to be open. We may, after quitting this, bid adieu to all comfort : but martial spectacles will console me amply.

Dec. 9.—We are still detained by contrary winds. Yesterday I dined with Count de Ranzan, and met there the Austrian minister. Our conversation was chiefly political. I lament to find that there is a strong French party here.

This day I have been writing copies of despatches. The news is gloomy. Poland is unquiet, and the Russians appear to press for action, which insures their defeat.

The king has placed the remains of his army under the Russian commander-in-chief : but a very excellent Prussian officer immediately acts as its own chief. He defended Thorn, and refused to capitulate : notwithstanding that General Lannes fabricated the report of an armistice having been made, to deceive him, and afterwards, in the most atrocious manner, threatened him with death for resistance.

The occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia has given the French Emperor great uneasiness, and he declares that he will never evacuate his conquests until the Porte is re-established in its integrity.

Orders have this day been given to put all the garrisons in Denmark in a state of defence. This precaution is wise, and with English assistance may prove successful.

Various incidents have occurred relative to myself *as an author* which are flattering, but I cannot detail them at this time. However, I am forced to present the Chevalier Lisakowicz, the Russian minister, with a copy.* Lord Hutchinson desired me not to delay compliance with the request made to me by the minister on this subject. I wish that my French edition was here ; two hundred copies at least would be sold, and this would extend my popularity as well as augment the hatred of the Danes against Napoleon. Even English copies would sell, as most of the Danes read and speak English.

* "The History of the Egyptian Expedition."

Our party to Dantzic is increased by a Hanoverian who is an intimate friend of Count Munster, and a Prussian officer of rank in this country, named Marwiz; formerly of the king's gendarmes. He was in the battle of Jena, and is an intelligent man.

There is an anecdote of the commandant of Colberg which we have just heard. The French offered him a bribe of eighty thousand livres to surrender that fortress. He appeared to consent, but stipulated that the money should be first paid, and that there should be an attack as if the enemy intended to carry the place by assault, so that his troops might agree to the capitulation. The eighty thousand livres were paid, and the French *gallantly* advanced close to the works, when a terrible fire of grape-shot from every gun mowed down several battalions. The enemy immediately fled; but exasperated at this conduct, and believing the place to be weak, advanced again with the serious intention of carrying it by *vive force*. But the artillery from the works again soon drove them back with considerable loss: and they have withdrawn humiliated and defeated, without having the hopes of revenge; since Colberg can always command, by its strength, favourable terms, and the commandant is justified by the laws of war in what he has done. But unless the English government determine to make the prisoners in England amenable for any outrages that the French commit against the allies, I do not believe they will heed how much they violate the laws of nations.

December 17, Dantzic.

On the 10th we embarked in the *Sparrow* brig, but

did not weigh anchor until the next morning, when we sailed with a beating wind

About eleven o'clock, as we were conversing below, a heavy thump of the vessel, vibrating fore and aft, struck us all with astonishment, and as we regarded each other in amaze a second blow assured us that we were striking the ground. The scene of Anholt flashed before our imagination, and we were dreading successive shocks when the intelligence was communicated that she was clear again: on sounding the bell we found that she had sustained no damage in her bottom. The pilot had gone down below not suspecting danger, and the steersman directed his course towards a brig which seemed to be at anchor, but which, when we approached within a hundred yards of her, was discovered to be on shore bilged and deserted: so that we struck in the act of veering off from danger. Had we continued a moment longer on the same course our brig had certainly been lost. The bank on which we struck is called "The little ground," and lies nearly in mid-channel.

Having escaped this peril, which however again rendered us extremely nervous so that the least sound excited the idea of another bumping, we stood on until dark: then, on account of the difficult navigation, we anchored; and as night continues in this quarter of the world now eighteen hours, we could not make sail before eight o'clock in the morning. This day the wind blew very fresh, and we were kept till nine o'clock at night in great anxiety as to our safe passage round the Falsterbo reef. This is a bed of rocks that stretches six miles into a channel of twelve.

Having turned this point the wind was, by our new course, rendered more favourable, and at daybreak we found ourselves alongside of the Bornholm island. Soon after we passed the Earholms where there is an excellent port formed by a cluster of rocks and islets.

Near them we spoke with a ship from Memel, by which we obtained satisfactory intelligence as to the port of Dantzic being free from the ice and the enemy. The wind towards night began to blow very hard, and our brig rolled so heavily that we passed a wretched time.* When morning broke we found what we had feared, that she had been driven to leeward of her port: the wind, however, favoured us as if willing to be compassionate, and we stood towards the road of Dantzic; yet again we seemed to be the sport of fortune, as the pilot conceived that he had mistaken the land and pointed to some in the horizon to which we could not beat up for a week. A native of Dantzic on board fortunately was consulted and we persevered by his advice, and in a short time saw the town which loomed in the distant horizon with most picturesque features: about seven o'clock we anchored in the bay, at the distance, as we thought, of a league from the shore.

As our boat which had been sent to a lighthouse on the Keel point brought us tidings that the French were not in the neighbourhood of the city, it was arranged that I should go in the boat to the town at four o'clock in the morning, wait on the governor, and send boats off for Lord Hutchinson and the baggage, &c. At the appointed hour I went on deck, and found to

my astonishment that eight persons were about to go in a crazy boat, called the gig, which had been nearly torn to pieces by being towed in the Cattegat and, which was never built to contain more than six, and even these only in smooth water.

False shame deterred me from objecting, and I descended into the boat with Marwiz, whom we had found a most valuable and excellent comrade; with a frankness of speech and integrity of conduct that would have honoured an Englishman. With difficulty we stowed, and the boat was only four inches out of the water when we were all packed. The wind began to blow and the sea to rise; while waves broke with a white surf around us: and yet, conscious as we were of the imprudence of the proceeding, we madly pushed off. The boat, unable to mount from her overburden, was driven heavily through the sea and the breaking waves flowed constantly into her; while the streams poured through her sides almost unseamed from former injury. We were soon wet from the chest downwards, like drowning rats; and one man being obliged to bale out the water, we could only use three oars. In this serious condition we attempted to dare and defy the most positive danger, until the wind blew so furiously and the boat was so low with the additional weight of water, that the sailors declared they had no purchase for their oars. Although we had been struggling with them for three-quarters of an hour, the lights for which we were making appeared to be as distant as ever: the mate who steered then said that if he was not afraid that the boat would swamp in bringing her before the waves he would turn back: but the danger of

proceeding becoming momentarily more imminent we hazarded the alternative, and succeeding, regained our ship, notwithstanding that we lost sight of her for a few minutes and the waves literally dashed against our backs as we sat in the stern of the boat; but we huddled close together in order to form this useful rampart.

I never mounted the deck of a vessel with more joy than I did that of the brig; and I really do think this to be one of the most providential escapes I ever had, nor do I know that the Anholt shipwreck was more full of danger.

Captain Pakenham and the officers were much rejoiced at our return, and I found that two boats had been ordered instead of the gig to carry us; but the neglect of a mate occasioned the circumstance which had so nearly proved fatal.

During the remainder of the night there was a heavy gale of wind: with every blast my thoughts revolved on the consequences that must have occurred had we not returned, and I determined never to expose myself without adequate cause to such chances, which might terminate my life without credit or advantage.

Towards morning the wind lulled and at daylight we found that the brig had anchored at least two leagues from the shore, but the cutter was sent for a large vessel to carry us there.

To the naval spectator the Bay of Dantzic can afford but little satisfaction, as there cannot be a wilder roadstead; but to those who have no such cares there cannot be a more delightful scene. The towers and domes of a large city occupy the low

ground; and the high shore extending towards Prussia is magnificently crowned with towering forests, and decorated with habitations which, at a distance, appear to be ornamental buildings.

About ten o'clock we were enabled to leave the brig; and after a very long row reached the Fair-water, an artificial entrance into the Vistula which extends about a mile and a half, and is a superb work. By this canal the largest merchant vessels are enabled to land their cargoes at the wharfs of Dantzic, distant eight miles. Having passed through the gates of the Fair-water, we crossed the Vistula, and entered into the Mottlau river, on the banks of which an officer was waiting to receive us; and he accompanied Lord Hutchinson in our boat to the town.

The banks of the river were studded with comfortable houses, chiefly painted dark red; and the wooden beams that branched through the walls were coloured black. Their tenants appeared to be decent people, but we had no opportunity of inspecting the interior of the houses. Yet I was much surprised at such an exterior after the accounts which we had heard of this country. On the surface of the water glided boats, rowed by women prettily dressed and whose countenances shone with health.

We had, from a distant view, 'conceived Dantzic to be a city of even greater character than Copenhagen; but the illusion vanished when we beheld on each side Gothic houses of the oldest style, and when we walked through filthy narrow streets crowded with Jews dressed in their national garb, and beggars.

Having paid our visit to General Manstein, we went to the English hotel, where we were received with some coldness by the landlord. He is rich enough to presume upon the right of independent action, although an host: but in the main we have found him better than those who profess more at the beginning.

In the evening we went for half an hour to the German play, and saw a handsome house but miserably attended. There were not six decent people in the house, except such Prussian officers as were in the parterre.

This night we went to the play again, and stayed to see a very amusing farce in one act, in which there was much good acting. I find that on these two occasions I have recovered more German than I had done previously since I left England in all my conversations in that language.

It is really not worth while to give a description of this town. It is a Jew city. Every house looks gloomy, and there are not two good streets in the place. The houses are lofty, their first-floors elevated considerably so that to each house there is a high flight of steps; and the flanking rail is ornamented with brass knobs—the only attempt at decoration that I can perceive. There are no squares, and no public buildings, except the theatre, of any note; but the inhabitants say that some improvements are contemplated when the war terminates.

The shops are full of English wares, but none are very elegantly arranged. The brandy and amber shops are the most distinguished.

The strength of Dantzic is not very considerable;

but two strong works must be carried before any damage can be done to the town. As there is a garrison of twelve thousand fine troops, perhaps this place may claim more honourable notice in military story than fortresses of greater celebrity in Prussian charts : but, alas ! the governor is near eighty years of age, and doats !

The busy note of preparation sounds in every part, and the churches are converted into hospitals : while the disloyal but frightened inhabitants provide their stores and excavate their asylums.

Dec. 17.—Captain Pakenham goes down to the Fairwater this day, and sails if the wind permits. He takes an eight double-bottle case of cherry brandy, and two of the finest amber sets of necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and crosses that have been seen in this country for some time—tokens to Jemima of her husband's never-failing love.

Various reports respecting the progress and movements of the French daily circulate. But it appears that the Russians and Prussians are about to attack the division of thirty thousand French that crossed the Vistula at Thorn : and as Buonaparte is about to be opposed by one hundred and eighty thousand Russians, seventy thousand Prussians, famine, and the evils of war in a wretched country, exclusive of English and Swedish co-operation, perhaps also Austrian, I am in hopes that he has attained the *ne plus ultra* of his triumphant career.

Königsberg, December 23.

We left Dantzic on the 18th. On account of the badness of the roads we could not reach a station, as

we could only travel three miles an hour : we therefore halted for the night at a decent looking road-side house. The next morning we proceeded twelve miles to breakfast, through a very thick fir-wood. Hitherto the country had been covered with farm-houses, well built and of cleanly appearance throughout ; but now we had only a dreary narrow ridge of sand to pass along, tufted with a few fir plantations, and flanked by the sea and the Frische Haff. This is a very large body of fresh water, into which the Vistula and the Prugel rivers flow, and which opens at Pillau to the sea with a channel a mile in width. This lake or basin extends in length about sixty miles, and in width from seven to twenty ; and the largest vessels used in the Baltic can navigate it. Along the ridge there are only a few huts, built on lofty hillocks of sand, to insure safety from the inundations of the sea and the melting snow : so that we were obliged, after leaving Colberg, to press on to Pillau, which made our journey that day forty-five miles ; a very great distance to traverse at the rate of two miles and a half an hour.

As the sand was so deep, Hutchinson, Eustace, Harvey, and I walked nearly twenty miles along the sea beach, looking for amber and white pebbles : some of these we collected, although the law prohibits the gathering of amber under the penalty of transportation. But, alas ! the lawgiver himself is almost an exile.

We arrived at the ferry about 10 P.M. and were obliged to leave the carriages at the water-side until morning, and proceed ourselves to Pillau in a boat. We soon got over, supped, and pigged again—the

accommodation can be described by no other term—six in a room.

The next morning, at daybreak, Kit Hutchinson and I went out to see the fortress of Pillau. We found it to be a very strong place, well provided, and commanded by an officer in whom great confidence may be placed. About eleven o'clock we started again, and Kit with Mr. Hugot proceeded in a light cabriolet. We had not gone above a mile and a half when the horses knocked up, and no wonder, for they were not larger than Newfoundland dogs. Lord Hutchinson, Eustace, and I walked on, while Harvey went back to get more horses. We strolled about six miles when Lord Hutchinson determined, as it was near one o'clock, to walk back to Pillau since the carriage did not appear. Very shortly, however, we met it, drawn by twelve horses; and although we had no luggage, the whole being sent by water, we were restricted to the rate of three miles an hour but truly on roads that were frightful.

Harvey and I, to lighten the carriage, walked, and finally got into a cart that was going the same way; but as the carriage passed through a small village which was paved and where we expected to find the post station, in a trot, we were obliged to leave our cart and get up behind the carriage. In this situation we were when two coaches passed us, in one of which, as we learnt afterwards, was the Countess Ingelheim returning to Magdeburg. We saw that the lady's surprise was great at this spectacle, and I presume that she conceived that we always travelled in that manner. The road continued terribly bad: but as night set in at four o'clock we got into the inside, and

about eight o'clock reached the post station, where Lord Hutchinson determined to remain during the night; notwithstanding the wretchedness of the accommodation and my persuasion to get on to Königsberg, distant only twelve miles. We fortunately had brought some provision with us, and while the party arranged their beds in a dirty hovel I got into and slept all night in the coach.

The next morning, at daybreak, we went on again passing through a beautiful wood. When we got through, the country which before we reached the forest had been extremely desolate, assumed a more pleasing and habitable aspect. At one o'clock we entered Königsberg, and were conducted to our lodgings there being no room at the inn to receive us. Here we had very good rooms, but no furniture except a few chairs; and yet Lord Hutchinson ventured to ask a party to dine with him, as he calculated that the landlord of the inn would provide according to his engagement. With the greatest difficulty we could procure anything like preparation; and that not until Lord Gower, Mr. Wynn our late minister at Dresden, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Drussini, the English consul, and Marwiz our Prussian comrade, had arrived. Lord Hutchinson sent me before dinner to Count Zastrow to announce his arrival. I found him at a paltry tobacconist's, in vile apartments. He received me very graciously, and I liked his physiognomy. On my return I found dinner on the table; that is, one dish: and although we entreated and the distance of the inn from the lodgings is not two hundred yards, still we could not prevail upon the people to bring more than one dish at a time; so we had a

very long and bad dinner. Indeed if Mr. Drussini had not sent to his house for a joint we should have been starved.

Lord Gower we found to be an amiable young man, and Mr. Drussini the best English consul we have yet met with. In the evening General Ratzow, who had come that morning from the Russian army, called upon Lord Hutchinson on his way back again. He spoke French, had served a great deal, was decorated with three crosses, and seemed to be a very active officer. He told me that he had read my book with much satisfaction. After remaining two hours to receive despatches from Lord Hutchinson he departed, but not before Lord Hutchinson had told him that Kit and I should be sent, in forty-eight hours, to the Russian army.

This morning, after breakfast, I walked with Kit to call on General Rüchel, who is now the minister of war. He is the officer who distinguished himself much at Jena in efforts to save Prince Hohenlohe's army: he was severely wounded there by grape-shot; from this he is recovering fast, although the French in their bulletins have declared him to be dead.

The general received us most courteously: but from our names not being announced clearly to him he asked if there was not a Colonel Wilson with Lord Hutchinson, who had written the history of the "Egyptian Expedition." On my presenting myself as the person, he said many flattering things; and it is singular enough, that exactly the same incident should have occurred in the morning to a major of a corps who called upon Lord Hutchinson: he had been in our service in America, and is actually

the only survivor of a whole battalion ; every other man having been killed wounded or taken prisoner on the 14th of October. General Rüchel was very frank and communicative.

Königsberg is a very large city : irregularly built, but with open streets, and much cleaner than Dantzic. The palace in which the king and queen are is a very old building of the worst model ; but it is indeed a palace compared with the residence at Ortelsburg where the queen lately was, and where she only had one room in which to sleep, eat, and receive her company. She is now lying very ill with a nervous fever, but is not dispirited. She said to Lord Gower the other day, that she “hated Buonaparte as much as he hated her, and that the English were a brave and *digne gens*.” As I passed the palace the king was at the window, but too loftily placed for me to distinguish his features ; and as I went by another house Princess Louisa was at a window with her children. She has the *beaux restes*, but seems to be very plaintive : and in truth much cause has she to be so. Every apartment, however mean, is crowded with noble fugitives, and the streets are all bustle ; but everything is packed up, and the royal party are prepared for more distant flight. It is a sad scene—but soldiers must not reflect, and a beautiful woman in misfortune should animate to enterprise, instead of being a cause of melancholy depression. So thought and felt the nobles of Hungary, and Maria Theresa retrieved the fortunes of her house.

Nine o'clock, P.M.

Lord Hutchinson has been this afternoon to see

General Kalkreuth and General Rüchel. The former has requested permission to resign, but has not received it ; for this I am very sorry, as he advised the king to sign the disgraceful armistice to which General Zastrow subscribed from policy.

I fear that the situation of affairs is very bad, but hope the Russian general will avoid for the present a general action. He has not above one hundred and ten thousand men (exclusive of fifteen thousand Prussians attached to his orders) : but in the spring he will be greatly reinforced, and many powerful contingencies may occur to reduce the strength of the French, who are calculated to have a force of one hundred and seventy thousand effectives in Germany and Poland.

General Kamenskoi who commands the Russians, is a very distinguished officer ; and active, notwithstanding that he is seventy-two years of age. He affects to imitate Suwarrow, and plays the antics of a semi-savage ; but he has the confidence and regard of officers and men. I am sorry to say that several Prussian officers have, at this critical moment, deserted their sovereign. General Fuhl, who was the ablest man in the service, has entered into the Russian army at S. Petersburg, whither he was sent on a particular mission ; Schulemberg and Hardenberg have resigned all civil and military employment ; and two officers have been hung in effigy who have entered the French army. Massembach, Prince Hohenlohe's quartermaster-general, whom in my letters to Mr. Canning I stated to be loudly accused of treason, has also, it is said, this day engaged in the French service. Was there ever any country where there was so little public virtue ?

I do not think this war will last long. The fate of mighty empires cannot be kept in doubtful balance under present circumstances.

Among ourselves we are all very comfortable, and I fancy that Lord Gower will join and improve our party ; for he has a notion of seeing a great battle.

I am still in great distress for want of my horses and servant. In two days I shall probably join the Russians, and know not what I shall do in the absence of this necessary equipage. The weather happily continues mild, so that communication may not be shut this year. Do not, I beseech you, forget my telescope. My eyes are not so good as they were, and I should not like to gallop by mistake into the midst of a French troop.

I have given you all the news I can collect in my journal, and letters to Mr. C. My next will probably be sent by Mr. Wynn, who sails from Pillau in a few days. I do not anticipate much comfort among the Russians, but a warm reception ; and there is much field for distinction : but be assured that I can never forget you and my children.

Konigsberg, December 26.

On the 24th I received an invitation to dine with the king at half-past one o'clock ; Lord Hutchinson and Eustace were also invited, but the rank of Harvey did not admit of his being included.

Lord Hutchinson was to precede, in order to have his audience and deliver a letter from the King of England ; but as he forgot the letter I ran after him. An unfortunate beau-trap covered my boots with mud, and in this condition I arrived at the palace and met Lord

Hutchinson coming back for the letter. I went on with him notwithstanding my misfortune, and found General Zastrow and General Kalkreuth in the antechamber. General Zastrow took Lord Hutchinson in to the king and I waited with Kalkreuth. Presently Princess Salms, the queen's sister, came by, and I was introduced to her. She is a very pretty woman, extremely affable: she remained in conversation ten minutes, during which she talked much of the distresses of the state, and the queen's illness which she described as a nervous fever; a contagious disease that has fatally prevailed among the Prussians since the battle of Jena. Prince Henry the king's brother, a very fine young man, afterwards joined us. He speaks English tolerably well, and boasts of his talent much to the Prussians, so we are obliged to acknowledge his ability: and indeed we ought to be gratified by his wish to excel in our language.

The Prince Royal a very lively little boy, and the Princess Charlotte a pretty little girl, with their two cousins fine boys, joined our party. As these little princes were all dressed in uniform they looked like Lilliputian warriors. They were afterwards very curious about my dress and the Turkish medal which I wore; and the Prince Royal particularly remarked my sword-string with some surprise, as the Prussians pay the strictest attention to the tassel of the sword-knot. I was obliged to say that the string was Turkish; but the prince did not seem satisfied with my explanation.

Hutchinson and Eustace then came in; and as we were talking, a tall lean man with his hands in his pockets rushed bolt up to us and began to speak

before we discovered that he was the king. He was very civil, but awkward in address and general manners; and I observed a wildness of look that I could have imagined denoted an insane state of mind. In a few minutes we were ushered into the dining-room, which was large and cleanly furnished but far from being a suitable apartment for majesty. Here were assembled all that I have before named, and in addition Madame de Saasse grande maîtresse to the queen, a charming old woman of seventy-two, very like Mrs. Chesshyre but somewhat more lively; Countesses Vorach, Tauenzein, Giuseppe, Mühl, and several others, tolerably pretty and all very affable; Lucchesini, at whom my feelings revolted; and half a dozen of the principal officers of state. I sat between the Countesses Truxeff and Tauenzein, who gave me an account of all our company; but I shall reserve a memorandum of characters for a separate and very private manuscript. I had an opportunity of playing the courtier here, and I seized the occasion: but if I drank the health of General Tauenzein to his daughter as a distinguished officer and in assumed ignorance of her connection, when she asked me my opinion of Lucchesini's physiognomy and I gave the significant answer of silence, I obtained from my compatriots that credit for frankness and disdain of French obsequiousness which they merit.

Our dinner lasted about an hour and a half. The dishes were plain and the wine bad. My neighbours filled me bumpers from politeness as they thought, and I was nauseated with sweet scent. When we rose the king came round and spoke to almost every person, and I had a very long conversation with

Prince Henry, who was pointedly attentive. At night there was a dreadful hurricane ; such a violent tempest was never remembered here, and it has done much damage to the shipping on the coast. Apprehensions are also entertained for the treasure-ships which sailed some days before.

The next morning I went with Lord Gower to buy horses for Lord Hutchinson and bought several. Dined with General Count Kalkreuth at two o'clock. Met there General Zastrow ; Lucchesini again ! General Rücher the late governor of Warsaw ; the Russian chargé d'affaires ; and various other personages. We were three hours at table, during which there were only five dishes served, but abundance of punch " as an English fashion." I was much shocked to see a little boy, the son of our host, act as a servant. How can sentiments of honour be the growth of this country when such is the contradiction in social relations ?

We first drove home and then went to pay the grande maîtresse a visit. She was now dressed in a fine satin gown : being determined to receive us with due state, as she had been caught at our dinner with the king, to her great chagrin, *en capote*.

We passed with her a very pleasant half-hour, for she is a fine frisky old girl and, from experience, knows human nature well ; at the same time she tempers her gaiety with excellent decorum. From her we went to the Princess Radzivil, who was obliged to receive us in her bed-chamber. Here we saw a most agreeable person, surrounded by her five children, one of them an invalid, working with her needle as if it had been her life's employment. She is not pretty but of very superior information and manners, and her

conversation was truly pleasing. She talked of her misfortunes and the errors of Russia ; but she sighed deeply when she was obliged to mention the name of her gallant brother Prince Louis, who fell at the battle of Saalfeld. Count Schulemberg was also present, and his conversation was highly interesting. I have seen few Prussians of so high tone as this nobleman.

In the evening we went to the play. There was a crowded house ; but no very good company, as the nobility do not go in these times to be a public spectacle at a theatre.

We went also to sup with Drussini, which is the greatest debauch I have committed since leaving England ; for nothing is so contrary to my habits as eating meat twice a day, and drinking wine and punch until midnight.

This morning, notwithstanding heavy snow-storms, I have been walking about with Lord Gower and others to buy horses ; and have bought for Lord Hutchinson two fine carriage horses from General Golz, who asked 100*l.* and took 65*l.*

I cannot help laughing, when I look round the room in which I am writing and think on the royal company I am keeping. Such a pig-sty as our apartment cannot be described. The whole luggage lies about, my bed is on the ground, and a pawnbroker's shop has not a greater variety of articles exposed to view ; but we are not the only frequenters of courts when our homes would not bear the inspection of a fastidious observer.

Dec. 27.—Dined with Drussini ; and went to the play at night in the king's box, which is a peculiar compliment paid to Lord Hutchinson. We saw a very

entertaining ballet. Prince Radzivil was there, and chatty. This morning I have been calling on Count Schulemburg, where I met Lucchesini who haunts my steps.

A partial rumour has circulated this morning which authorizes the idea of some great events being near that will decide our movements. We must wait at all events for permission from General Kamenskoi before we can join the Russian army, which is now in movement and probably in battle.

Dec. 28.—As Wynn determines to leave this I am closing my letters. After dinner yesterday Kalkreuth and Prince Radzivil came in and remained some time. To their surprise, we were still at table for we could not get our dinner till five o'clock; and the Prussian fashion is to dine at two o'clock, to which, however, Lord Hutchinson will never conform. On going away Kalkreuth gave me a kiss: which compliment I would have dispensed with if I had dared.

We received last night an official report of the French and Prussians having had some affairs of posts, in which the latter have lost two guns and several officers and men: but as the Russians are advancing to cut off Generals Ney and Davoust from their bridges established at Plock and Thorn, and as the weather still continues open, I am in hopes that we shall receive good tidings; and every hour I expect permission from General Kamenskoi to join his army: Kit and I in this case will precede the general, and we shall arrive in four hours after our departure from hence. The scene will be interesting and very curious, for such a *mélange* of warriors from distant nations was never assembled.

The Polish insurrection goes on slowly. The season is very sickly ; and twenty deserters came in last week from the French who are not well pleased with their present service.

Konigsberg, December 31

On the 29th Wynn went away. On that morning we received accounts that General Osterman had been attacked during the night, and having only fifteen thousand men was obliged to retire after an obstinate defence ; leaving in the bad roads nine pieces of cannon. General Lestocq was also attacked, and the post of Soldau occupied by the French. In this affair the French lost many men, as did the Prussians also. The news was uncomfortable, and silent preparations were everywhere made for evacuating Konigsberg.

During the afternoon, one hundred and sixty Prussians, chiefly of the regiment of Blücher, arrived in the town. They had escaped from Potsdam where they were guarded as prisoners, and passing by Colberg arrived at Dantzic without meeting a single Frenchman. This is a remarkable circumstance, and proves that the French are either very negligent or not very numerous. These hussars declared that there were many more Prussians following—a satisfactory evidence of the disposition of the Prussian soldiers that was hardly to be expected, considering their scanty pay and recent disasters. In the evening Lord Gower and I went by invitation to drink tea with Princess Radzivil, and there we met Princess Salms, General Goltz, Marwiz, and Walpole. We passed a very agreeable evening. Princess Radzivil has resolved, on account of her approaching *accouchement*, not to retire further : and as the prince is not in

the service, perhaps she has determined wisely. Yesterday morning, Lord Hutchinson sent off his luggage, contrary to my notions because I wished to await the issue of the expected battle.

At ten o'clock news arrived that the Russians had gained the victory. The king sent round the joyful tidings, and the whole town was in movement to assemble at the palace. A courier had arrived with a note from the aide-de-camp of the king; stating that he had great intelligence to communicate, but that he was coming on slowly from the last post *because he had lost his hat in the battle and could not appear before his Majesty in that state!* Was there ever anything more ridiculous? What an extraordinary trait for the nineteenth century!

Twenty-four postillions *and a hat* were sent out to meet the aide-de-camp, and about twelve o'clock he dismounted at the palace amidst the acclamations of the populace. The account was soon circulated that the Russian General Beningsen had been attacked by the French on the 26th, and had repulsed them with a loss on their side of seven thousand men. Lord Hutchinson went to dine with the king in a major-general's uniform, *without a star*; his best coat having been sent off. We drove off in Mr. Drussini's barouche. I was the charioteer, and it required some skill in these narrow streets, and on slippery pavement as there had been a sharp frost for forty-eight hours. However, I conducted my charge in safety.

On our return there was a little damp thrown upon our rejoicings. It appeared that General Kamenskoi, the commander-in-chief of the Russians, had gone to S. Petersburg in disgust and, some pretend, wounded

in the previous affair when General Osterman's column was compelled to retreat; and that there was the greatest misunderstanding between Generals Beningsen and Buxhowden, the two remaining chief commanders. Buxhowden had indeed withdrawn his army to the Russian frontier; and Beningsen had gained by his own corps of fifty thousand men the battle against Murat, Lannes, and Davoust.

It was moreover stated that the Russians were in such want of provisions that Beningsen himself would be obliged to withdraw to Ostrolenka, distant from the field of action twenty-five miles. The victory of the Russians, however, appeared to be decisive: but we anxiously await the details.

In the evening we went to Madame de Voss' for a few minutes, and then to the play, where the two young princesses went and were very loyally received.

This morning it thaws again. Kit and I are preparing to join the Russians, and we are in anxious expectation of news as to the events subsequent to the battle of the 27th, and the state of General Lestocq's corps; the situation of which previously to that day was critical.

Dec. 31.—This morning an officer is arrived from General Buxhowden, stating that on the 26th he also was attacked, and that he repulsed the French with considerable slaughter. Buonaparte himself was present.

Notwithstanding the gallant conduct of the Russian troops, such is the unfortunate discord prevailing among the generals and so great the want of provisions, that the success to all appearance will have no advantageous consequences. The Russians are retiring upon Ostrolenka, and probably behind the

Niemen river, which forms the boundary of the Russian empire. Against this measure the king is remonstrating; because in this case all Russian Poland is given up to the French, and what is of more consequence than the soil, immense magazines will fall into their power. In addition to this, the recruiting for the Prussian army will be stopped: this was going on prosperously, as seventeen whole battalions had been recently formed. Never was there a more extraordinary situation of affairs: in the midst of victory we are experiencing all the evils of defeat. Kamenskoi has certainly resigned the command. He is truly mad. In the streets of Pultusk he gave too painful evidences of his malady.

If we should be obliged to leave this place the retreat will be direful; the weather being very bad, the roads almost impassable. I pity the poor queen, who must be moved in a litter at this season of the year to be expatriated.

General Lestocq the Prussian general and his corps are safe. He has acquired great credit, and defends the country against a very superior force inch by inch. The black hussars have particularly distinguished themselves. In both the Russian battles the French had little quarter given them. I cannot but deprecate this practice: but I approve of the measures adopted by the Russians, who burn all the country which they leave behind them so as to make a desert for the French to pass over, if they *can* pass. In such conjunctures, when the fate of the world is at stake, trespasses must be committed on the civilizing laws of war.

General Rüchel, the Prussian war minister, has

been with us to say that the Russians have not resolved to retire behind the Niemen ; and that their victory has been so disastrous to the French that Buonaparte is retreating.

God grant that this intelligence may prove true ! yet General Zastrow is of a different opinion. All admit that the Russians fought nobly, and remained masters of the field.

We await with impatience further details. It is a most anxious moment. Colonel Sontag, who has been with the Prussian column, writes that he will be here this day ; but that he knows only from report what has passed between the Russians and French. Kit and I were to have gone off immediately, but we are now waiting for some decisive report that we may have a sure point to make for.

How much I lament the absence of my servant and horses ! I shall be obliged to take a German till my own people arrive.

This is the last day of the year. What a year of woe it has been for Prussia, and what an eventful one for me who have in that space been in three quarters of the world !

Walpole, who has become one of our party and proves to be a most agreeable and intelligent companion, goes with despatches to Vienna ; and to him will be intrusted the charge of bringing the berries. Is it a thing impossible that we may be driven to the country where they grow ? The events that have happened were not more unlikely.

Basilico remains for the present with us, and will

only go to England in the case of very important news.

January 1, 1807.

I open my letter again as Wynn unexpectedly came back and is to be the bearer, his vessel not being ready. This is New-year's day, and I hope that it dawns happily for all hearts at home.

There is no further advice from the Russians, nor is the day of my departure fixed; but from moment to moment we expect news that will decide all these things.

January 4, Muhlsen, 18 miles from Königsberg.

At midnight of the 1st, Wynn went back to Pillau and Walpole set off for Vienna. On the 2nd accounts were received that the Russians were obliged, in conformity with General Buxhowden's orders and Kamenskoi's original directions, to concentrate; by which movement the position of Königsberg would be exposed. The king therefore determined upon departing; and General Zastrow wrote a note to Lord Hutchinson acquainting him with his intention, and stating that he expected to meet him at Memel.

Lord Hutchinson obtained permission to go by the sea-road, which runs along a tract of sand, on one side of which is the sea and on the other the Curische Haff—an immense lake nearly a hundred miles in length. As this road afforded very partial accommodation it was reserved for the royal family, and therefore Lord Hutchinson resolved to go away the next morning.

In the evening Lord Gower and I, with Mr. Jackson, went to Madame de Voss', whom it was quite delightful to see in such good spirits in such times: and we could not but wish that the men of Germany

had half her courage. We then drove to the Princess Radzivil's. We soon discovered that she had been weeping; from her eyes rolled floods of tears when we discoursed of public affairs. She considered that the evacuation of Königsberg was the dethronement of the king: and I could perceive that she preferred any compromise to this measure.

When we came back to Drussini's, where we had been dining, we found Colonel Sontag, who had just arrived. He was warm in his praises of General Lestocq, whose conduct and retreat have not dishonoured those of the ever-memorable General Clairfait. Madame Lestocq, his wife, is *grande maîtresse* to the Princess Salms, and is a most amiable woman. Her situation excites great interest.

Yesterday morning the young princes and one of the princesses—the other having been too ill to leave Königsberg—and Lord Hutchinson, with Lord Gower, Mr. Drussini, and Eustace, went in the carriages. Harvey had gone on with the general's coach-horses as we were allowed post-horses to the first station; and Kit and I rode. I was mounted on a little Polish horse, for which I gave twenty pounds. The day was most uncomfortable. The wind was very high, sleet drifted in our faces, and the road was almost as bad as that of Pillau.

We reached the post-house about six in the afternoon and were glad to be received by Harvey, who had secured for us a comfortable room. Lord Hutchinson came in within two hours, and we sat down to dinner on our provisions; for we were forewarned to bring them, as little else than black bread and salt fish was to be had on the road.

A Russian general, named Lusher, who had been lying ill some time at Königsberg, where his wife and two children joined him from S. Petersburg, entered our apartment and shared our meal. His mien and manners were very engaging, but the lady was a true Russe not of high degree. They proceeded after their refreshment to a village about a league distant, and we retired early to our resting-places: mine was on my bear-skin stretched upon a very filthy floor. The wind during the night blew very hard indeed and was piercingly cold. I am now writing this at six o'clock in the morning while the others are dressing; and thus by sleeping in my clothes I gain and employ time satisfactorily.

Nieden, 35 miles from Muhlsen, January 5.

Yesterday we moved on in one of the most tremendous hurricanes, accompanied by heavy fall of snow, that any of us ever remembered; and I have seen in my time much violent weather. The wind was too high and the cold too severe for riding, and therefore I preferred going with Drussini in his barouche. After passing over a naked sand we entered a fir forest, and our apprehensions of being crushed by the agitated trees were not altogether without warrant; for one fell within ten paces of our horses' heads, and immediately after Lord Hutchinson had passed in his coach. This impediment in the road obliged us to get out, while our coachman hazarded a passage for the barouche in an unexplored direction.

We had no sooner got in again than another tree fell behind us; and until we reached the station of

Sarhan—fifteen miles—we were momentarily threatened with impending danger. The sword over the head of Damocles was not a more imminent or anxious peril.

When we entered the post-house we found it a miserable cabin, containing three very small rooms; in one of which the Russian general was deposited with his family: we occupied the second; and the third, with only half a window, was reserved for Count Lindenthal the grand écuyer to the king, who joined our party at dinner. The weather continued so frightfully bad that any attempt to continue our journey would have been madness; particularly as the wind was on shore and the road was confined by sand-hills to the beach, on which the waves were rolling. Lord Gower, I, and Harvey, after a merry dinner (for Count Lindenthal proved a most agreeable companion) retired to a barn, and slept soundly on the hay.

The next morning the wind continued very high, but as there was no snow falling, Kit, Harvey, and I rode. We had been cautioned against quicksands; but having no guide, as I was urging on rapidly my little horse—who in future will be called John Sobieski—struck into one of those perfidious holes and instantly sunk up to the middle. We soon by his struggling were both on our sides, and I dragged myself from him with some difficulty; but with still more extricated him: indeed for some minutes I had no other hope than that of saving a part of my saddle and bridle.

Having mounted again we reached this place, without serious accident but not without much hazard,

and were for some time anxiously expecting Lord Hutchinson. At last his servant came and announced that the carriage was stopped by the inability of the horses to proceed, and that he must have immediate assistance as the wind was driving the waves furiously upon the strand. Saddle-horses and twenty-four peasants' horses were obtained; but with much persuasion and great promises of reward, since the horses—or rather the cats—of the whole station were kept in readiness for the king and queen, who might arrive at any time.

Presently afterwards Mr. Drussini came, mounted on a peasant's horse, and acquainted us that he had given up his barouche to the Russian general, whose carriage had sunk into a quicksand so deep that with difficulty he and his wife and children could escape; for the waves dashed over the roof before he could get them out. Almost immediately another messenger came to state that the unfortunate Russian, who ill as he was had been obliged to take the reins, had fallen into another quicksand; and that the carriage was immovable. The anxiety of all was now much increased by the fearful darkness of the night, and the increasing fury of the gale whose blasts were violent beyond description. At length after several hours the Russian and his family appeared, having been extricated by the peasants who were sent to their aid; but it was not until eight o'clock at night that Lord Hutchinson joined us, having sixteen horses to his coach which even then moved very slowly. We were rendered happy by his arrival and sat down to dine. Count Lindenthal having quarters at another cottage afterwards asked me and Lord

Gower to share them, and we slept in his room which was a convenient relief to the rest of our party. The count, who had been in England and lived much with the Duke of York and the prince, entertained us with many anecdotes; so that we did not get much repose. There is one which I will remember to repeat, but do not hazard writing it for several reasons.

Memel, January 7.

On the 6th, Harvey, Kit, and I rode on to Nieden, passing several wrecks. Before our departure from Rosetten Jackson had arrived. From him we learnt that news had arrived at Königsberg that the French were marching to that town, and that as they were distant only thirty-five miles the king and queen had left it and were then on the road.

Lord Hutchinson and the remainder of our party arrived in good time: but as not a single house was to be procured and the room which Lord Hutchinson obtained was very small indeed, he insisted on Kit, Harvey, and myself going on to the next station and making arrangements there and at Memel for his journey this day. Count Lindenthal having offered me a seat in his waggon which was built for a shooting cart, I gladly accepted it; for I not only liked his society, but John Sobieski had struck my knee with his fore-foot and the pain there was considerable.

We journeyed on with some anxiety; for the road was very heavy, frequently doubtful, and we often sank through the ice into deep water: the horses also began to grow weary. At length night overtook us, and the never reposing tempest roared again with reanimated violence. The guide became anxious,

hesitated often, and at last confessed that he had lost his way. In this dilemma we were obliged to get out and search for a new track, but it was in vain.

A lofty mountain of sand was on our right, over which the guide declared was the station ; for all these stations are built on the shore of the Curische Haff and not on the seaside. It was necessary to undertake any possible measures, for the horses could not have been preserved in such a night had they been exposed where they then were : the waggon was therefore turned towards the ascent, and with painful toil the poor animals reached the summit. On the other side we found a thick fir wood, in which the guide declared we should find the station ; but whether we ought to turn to the right or to the left he had no idea. The descent from the mountain was so steep that we were obliged to hang upon the carriage for fear of the weight forcing it too rapidly down. Having reached the foot in safety we all went in search of some track ; and after a time a joyful halloa assured us that one was discovered. It proved to be the right one, for in a few minutes I saw a glimmering light, and on coming up to the door of a house was received by Harvey and Kit, who had galloped on and reached the town during daylight. A more romantic spot could not be seen in Switzerland than Schwarzort, the name of this station ; and a fire having lately consumed every house in the village which formerly occupied the site, we were ushered into the apartments of an inn recently built, in which the most fascinating neatness prevailed. A dinner and rooms had been ordered for the minister, Schroeder : we took possession of both ; but resigned

an apartment to our Russian friend, who had been driven from the last station by the arrival of numerous carriages and Madame de Voss.

He gave us notice that some of the company would soon be with us: and as we heard the crack of the postillion's lash we threw ourselves down on our respective couches; so that General Knoblesdorff, Schroeder, and several other distinguished personages were obliged to group in a narrow chamber—the apartment of the landlord.

Notwithstanding the noise of fifty peasants who had brought their horses for the king's service, I slept soundly until three o'clock; when Kit, fancying it was day (like the poor girl, according to the song, who was deceived by the light of the moon and sent her lover away), began to wash and to blow upon the freezing water. We all laughed so much that sleep afterwards was impossible; and getting up at six o'clock we started again, but not before a chasseur arrived to bespeak the apartments which we had tenanted for the queen that night.

I cannot describe the miserable sufferance of this day's journey better than by reference to my account of the south-east wind at the Cape. The sand flew with such sharp force, and the hurricane was so powerful, that the horses could with difficulty face their course: and as we went along many shipwrecks interested our feelings; and more particularly as the survivors of the crews were still in their canvas huts endeavouring to save some of their property.

One very large ship, although deeply laden, was driven up upon the sand almost above ordinary water-mark; others were broken up into twenty frag-

ments. A more sad spectacle I never beheld ; but since our misfortune at Anholt we have been familiarised with the sight of wrecks, for we have seen one in every day's journey since that occasion.

Never in the memory of man has the weather been so wild. For three weeks indeed there has been a continuous storm, and the wind changes only to blow more furiously from the new direction. While I am writing the blasts shake the house to the foundation ; and the wind is directly opposite to the quarter from which it blew this morning when we reached the bank of the Memel, where we found all carriages and horses detained from passing by the weather ; and yesterday not even a man could pass.

Count Lindenthal, the Russian general and his family, with myself, came over in one of the king's boats. There was a good deal of ice : but we passed without much impediment, and quickly considering that the passage is nearly half a mile.

On our landing an English merchant conducted me to Lord Hutchinson's quarters. Being wrapped up in one of the Turkish sable pelisses belonging to Lord Hutchinson I was followed by a great crowd to the house, in which there was accommodation very nearly but not quite enough for us all ; so Harvey and I preferred taking rooms next door. Kit, Harvey, and I dined with a Mr. Griffin, an English merchant settled here, who gave us and Count Lindenthal a plain English dinner in a very well furnished and arranged house. His wife was a German, very kind and civil. After dinner Lords Hutchinson, Gower, &c. came in.

The poor horses could not be got over that night,

and they are standing without shelter or food on the naked shore, with many others in the same miserable condition.

January 8, 1807.

This morning the king and queen came across. Her majesty is rather better for her journey, but excessively feeble; and those who have seen her describe her appearance as most afflicting. She is now lodged in the same house in which, two summers since, she first had an interview with the Emperor Alexander. She was then blooming in beauty, revelling in prosperity, and caressed by fortune. How painful must have been her reflections as she this morning crossed that threshold! How busy and cruelly active must have been her thoughts as she was conveyed in her litter through those apartments; where she had last moved, lovely, powerful, and happy!

There is certainly something in the misfortunes of the great which touches the feelings of all men more sensibly than the sufferings of individuals in low estate; and the spectacle of a queen in distress is universally acknowledged to be a more tragical sight than the more disastrous and general calamities of the commonalty.

Ladies of honour, countesses, princes, and princesses, have all this day been passing the river and detaining our poor horses: we have however sent food to them. As much ice is forming we are very anxious about their passage: a few hours may render it difficult: although, from the news of this day, there is not much reason to apprehend that the French have yet entered Königsberg, against which four thousand of the guards were marching. Some new movements

of the Russians may stop them ; indeed, it is said, have stopped them already.

It is reported that a council of general officers has declared Kamenskoi mad, and that the generals Buxhowden and Beningsen have had a conciliatory interview. Moreover Lestocq has been considerably reinforced : so that affairs do not wear so unpromising an aspect as they did a few days since.

Jan. 9.—The frost was so severe last night that the river is too full of ice to allow any ferry-boats to pass ; but John Sobieski has been brought over in a fishing-boat. The rest of our horses remain with many others shivering on the shore. I have at last been obliged to resort to warmer clothing—a memorable event in my life. I suppose that my susceptibility to cold may be attributed to the rapid change of climate ; for this day last year I was landed at the Cape when the heat was intolerable, and on this anniversary at this hour I was making my unfortunate march on the African desert.

We have received news from Königsberg. The French column that was destined for that place has suddenly stopped, and General Rüchel still remains there.

Princess Salms and Princess Radzivil, with the Countess Nyal, have resolved to run the hazard of falling into the hands of the French, notwithstanding what has occurred even in Warsaw to the ladies. In that city, a beautiful woman and noble, standing at a window to see the French troops pass, was observed and had cause to repent her curiosity.

Princess Salms, however, is expecting her accouchement immediately, and the Princess Radzivil has a

child too ill to move. The Countess Nyal who is her lady of honour remains from affection to her, and braves Napoleon's resentment on account of a letter which he intercepted and noticed in one of his bulletins.

The health of the queen continues to improve, and Prince Coburg arrived this day from Königsberg where it was supposed he was dying of a fever. Regardless of sovereignty if the crown must be put upon his head when kneeling at the feet of Buonaparte, he has hazarded his inheritance and attaches himself to the fortunes of Russia.

The town of Memel may at this moment boast of illustrious visitors: but, although it is small, good quarters are not scarce; and such is the depression of the times, that there is no kind of society and no public amusement.

In future I shall always attach to my journal a confidential report of intelligence; a copy of this I wish to be sent to Mr. Canning, if my former letters have been forwarded to him. Beyond this, it is only to be shown to very confidential friends whom I may designate. At the same time I must mention, that I only state such things as may be repeated without violation of the trust reposed in me by Lord Hutchinson; so that no intimation must be expected of his transactions, or of impending negotiations in which England may be concerned. Neither can I *write* all the matter which would be very interesting, being confined by the above reasons to general news; nor, in some cases, can I assign the real grounds of my opinions.

Jan. 9.—In consequence of a French corps having

directed its march upon Heilsberg, and occupied that post—distant from Königsberg thirty-five miles—the king withdrew; but General Rüchel has remained there with three battalions and near five hundred horse. About four thousand men are ordered also from Dantzic; as there is reason to believe that the French detachment is very weak, and has already halted in consequence of General Lestocq being reinforced by four thousand Russians. There is, therefore, reasonable hope that Königsberg will be taken possession of without a more considerable movement of the enemy towards the left. In case, however, of the evacuation of Königsberg in consequence of the march of a larger force, then the Prussian cavalry is to retreat along the Curische Haff, and the infantry is to retire upon Pillau.

The news from the Russian army is confirmed, that Kamenskoi has been declared mad in a council of officers. His acts of insanity indeed were so unhappily patent, that no sane man, hearing the evidence, could come to any other conclusion. Also that Generals Buxhowden and Beningsen have since had an interview and are reconciled. Fifty squadrons have been added to the corps of the latter, and General Essen, at the head of thirty-five thousand men, has reinforced Buxhowden. The Finland army, including the S. Petersburg division, is also on the march and will be up in three weeks.

At present the Russian force assembled, exclusive of the Prussians under Lestocq, amounts to one hundred and forty thousand men; and such is the zeal of the people and vigour of the government, that in all the districts two-thirds of the recruits required by the

ukase are already in training. A late ukase of the 30th of December, moreover, regulates for a militia of six hundred thousand men.

Under such circumstances there is much reason to wish that no premature action may be fought: but the Russian generals seem disposed to consult the wishes of the King of Prussia and advance again. This measure, Buonaparte, according to the best opinions, is desirous of encouraging: for his army is very sickly, and considerable discontent prevails; so that a protracted warfare is certain injury, whereas decisive battle offers probable success.

Russia is also not yet in a state to risk the loss of a great action. Her reserves are not prepared, and I believe she wants arms: at least she cannot spare any to the Prussians, who might with this supply reinforce Lestocq with ten thousand men, exclusive of the seven thousand cavalry in this neighbourhood—well furnished and instructed troops. Among these are nearly the whole of Blücher's hussars and the queen's regiment, who have escaped through Pomerania within these three weeks past.

A few days must determine whether the fortune of Buonaparte or the wisdom of the Russian councils prevails: for although the Russian troops are in remarkably high order, numerous, and impelled to greater gallantry by Beningsen's success (Buxhowden's was only a partial affair), still no certain anticipation of victory is warrantable; where there is no chief of any character to direct the operations of a force which, more than any other, requires a leader in whom implicit confidence may be reposed.

Two months may produce most favourable com-

binations and diversions: but to gain that time without any disaster or diminution of the high spirit which now animates the Russians, requires an ability and experience which can scarcely be imagined as existing in any Russian captain.

The King of Prussia, driven to the confines of his dominions, still, in my opinion—which, however, is not the private one of many well-informed persons—is resolved not to regain his kingdom by any separate arrangement with France. He says, and I believe him, that he has thrown himself upon England and Russia, and will abide such fortune as their protection will command for him and his own personal exertions and fidelity will merit. If England is animated by the same generous and daring spirit that influenced her counsels but eighteen months since, he reposes on no precarious stay. Her army and her treasure judiciously applied may yet, and in the ensuing campaign, crown her long struggle with triumph.

Lucchesini is gone to his estates in Italy and not to the French head-quarters, as suspicion would assume to be the fact.

Stein has resigned. This is a great loss to English interests, but Hardenberg, who is at Memel, is now much consulted; and we hope may have sufficient influence, with the co-operating suggestions of Russia, to expel Beim and Lombard.

The Emperor of Russia is expected in this neighbourhood shortly, and, in the interim, there will probably be some minister of consideration with whom Lord Hutchinson may communicate: for although the king is nearly expatriated, still his ac-

cession to such measures as the interest of the allies demands is of much importance: and his connection with France would be fatal; inasmuch as Buonaparte might then withdraw his forces from the cul-de-sac, which ought to close upon his followers, his fortune, and his life.

Colberg and Dantzic are still open, but the former place requires the assistance of English stores. The presence of a British squadron would infuse courage, and probably be most beneficial, by arranging an expedition to Pomerania, which might in the spring be undertaken with great prospects of advantage. Arms, however, must be first sent for the troops already serving, and for those who only wait an occasion to seize and use them.

The conduct of Blücher's corps, and the gallant bearing of General Lestocq's little army, rescues the Prussian military character, and entitles the soldiery to some estimation and confidence. The flocking of numbers to the standard of this unfortunate sovereign through a tract of country where the scantiest supplies are doubtful, where death menaces the intercepted fugitive, and twopence-halfpenny a day is alone the pay of his future desperate service, evinces the most honourable devotion to the cause of their country: and it justifies the strongest reliance on the allegiance of the greater part of the Prussian army, however now dispersed, or employed by submission to the conqueror in order to avoid a prison or a transfer to France. I know also from the best authority that the German troops in the fortresses on the Oder are all eager to shake off their yoke and restore the liberty of Germany.

The conduct of the French has exasperated every individual; and the mildest peasant prays for an occasion to avenge the insults and injuries committed by the lawless invaders.

The last accounts from the army state Lestocq to be at Augensberg, and the Russians at Neuplosk in front of Johannisberg. Where the French head-quarters are is not known, but since their check they have made no forward movement. There are no accounts from Silesia.

Ten o'clock, P M., January 10.

We have been perplexed with various accounts from the Russian army, but no decisive action has taken place. Generals Buxhowden and Beningsen have, however, joined—which is a fortunate event—and Königsberg is not yet taken possession of by the enemy. I suspect that they have some considerable embarrassment in their movements, but from what cause none of us can determine.

We have just heard that the Prince of Orange and the Princess have been most shamefully treated by the barbarians. He was on his parole at a village where his child died. The same evening two officers came and ordered him to depart immediately for Anclam in Swedish Pomerania, where he was to be kept a close prisoner. He interceded in vain for permission to attend the funeral of his child the next morning. He was hurried, with insult, into the carriage, and the princess was ordered to Berlin. How I wish that my sword was at the loins of the tyrant!

Yesterday the queen, who is somewhat better, sent to request that I would “lend her my book, as she

could read English." By accident I found a copy of the quarto edition in this town, and the owner very handsomely gave me permission to have it bound: I shall transmit it with a letter to-morrow. I could not present the book as it was, for although the contents were the object of the queen's research, still, under existing circumstances, I would pay more than ordinary attention to the courtesies due to royalty.

Madame de Voss also told me that the king wished much to get some English cheese. In consequence of the blockade of Memel by the Swedes this year, such an article was not to be sold; but I employed an active commissary, who discovered one of forty-two pounds weight, which I sent this morning for the king's use.

Walpole has informed us that Lucchesini released him at Goldep; so that he is now near Vienna, where there is much to do at this moment.

The frost is entirely gone, and, for a wonder, this evening the wind lulls.

Our time rather hangs heavy for want of books; but we have noble arguments, in which Lord Hutchinson and I are the chief champions and antagonists.

I am now going to repose, for our order of the day is, rise at eight A.M., which is daylight; breakfast at nine; dine at four P.M.; coffee at six; tea at eight; bed at eleven. I trust, however, that the hour is approaching when more martial employments will break up this monotony.

Jan. 15.—Yesterday, at eleven o'clock, the king sent to ask Lord Hutchinson and me to dine with him at one o'clock. We went, and found the whole party

assembled in the dining-room. The king was very gracious, and conversed much. Lord Hutchinson was also uncommonly gay. After dinner, Lord H. was taken by Countess de Voss into the queen's apartment. He remained some time; and when he came out I was ushered into the same chamber. The queen was reclining upon the sofa and I approached, expecting to see an invalid languid in looks; but on the contrary I gazed upon one of the most animated countenances I ever beheld, and at the same time the most lovely, and a figure that was truly noble.

Her affability, her interesting words, and her presence with the recollection of her fortunes which it called forth, could not but affect the feelings of the most indifferent stranger; and as my sensibilities are not torpid, I was moved by all the enthusiastic spirit of a true knight. Our conversation continued for about a quarter of an hour. In the latter part of it the king, who came in, joined familiarly.

For fear of trespassing to the injury of the health of the illustrious patient, I withdrew of my own accord and returned to Lord Hutchinson; whom I found no less pleased and to have been no less moved than myself. I have since this interview, felt more vindictive hatred, if possible, than ever against her unmanly enemies.

Would to God that her courage inspired the councils of the sovereign, and then the sword of justice and of vengeance would soon achieve under his banners a success which the league of confederated kings has not been able to attain in a conflict of sixteen years!

Lord Hutchinson invited Count Zastrow to dine with him to-morrow. This invitation I had been struggling to obtain several days, for there was opposition from some quarters to that friendly intercourse which is, in my opinion, essential to the character, and probably the interests, of England ; and I am not a little pleased at my triumph.*

This morning the queen sent a note to Countess de Voss, to the effect that "she must not take my book if I brought it to her, as she would only receive it from my own hands as the author." This compliment is certainly very flattering and satisfactory after my interview.

The book has been well bound, and I am happy that Memel has enabled me to pay this attention. I now only wait for notice of the time when the queen is well enough to receive me.

This evening, while we were at tea with Countess de Voss, news arrived that General Beningsen has been made commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Of this I am very glad.

Jan. 16.—Count Zastrow has this day been dining with us, and we had a very pleasant party. He related many curious anecdotes of Napoleon, collected in his late mission to Berlin. General Golz was also very entertaining ; but as he was minister at S. Petersburg in the time of the Empress Catherine, his stories were highly coloured.

The queen continues to gain health daily.

* This is one of frequent instances in which Sir Robert Wilson's watchful diplomacy found occasion to create intimacies which might promote the interests of Europe, or to reconcile enmities which were injurious to them. His tact, supported by the universal estimation of his character, insured remarkable success.—ED.

January 17, 1807.

My intelligence is general here : but it is only to be sent to Mr. Canning, and shown to confidential friends. Beningsen has obtained the chief command of the army, and the cordon for his success at Pultusk which has been more considerable than was at first supposed.

Buonaparte's aide-de-camp, Ségur, was taken ; Rapp dangerously wounded in the shoulder ; and Duroc's arm broken by the overturn of a carriage in which he was flying to Warsaw. All the cannon and baggage of the army, and Buonaparte's own baggage, were left fast in the mud : but Beningsen not being able to pursue from Buxhowden's failure of support, the French recovered their own and took three or four of the Russian guns which had also been left in the mud, on their march next day.

When Buonaparte arrived at Warsaw he did not mention a syllable of the affair, which to this moment is only whispered there ; but at Posen he ordered the guns to fire and *Te Deum* be sung, and then sent a courier to Vienna with intelligence of a victory : he had happily been anticipated.

Buxhowden is ordered to Riga. Kamenskoi is to remain at Grodno in disgrace.

The Russian army from the Bug to Kuris exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand men, exclusive of the Prussians ; and there are, moreover, three divisions between Grodno and Wilna ; and a considerable corps of Cossacks is moving into this country, where the S. Petersburg division is also expected.

Buxhowden had agreed to a plan which was very satisfactory to the King of Prussia, as embracing the defence of Königsberg to which place the French

have not yet advanced. Whether Beningsen will pursue the same plan, and hazard a battle for this object, is not yet known. I presume that he will prefer avoiding a general engagement for the present; as, independently of the great force assembling to support him, there is another strong reason; namely, that the French are daily becoming more sickly and discontented. Buonaparte has even been obliged to publish, as a soothing measure, that in six weeks he will give peace to France.

In Warsaw alone, and this only a first depôt, there are twenty-two public hospitals; and in most houses there are sick whose cases are not so infectious.

Three causes are assigned for the unusual languor of the French operations: sickness, the state of the roads—which has made Buonaparte say that he has “discovered a fifth element, *the mud*”—and a fear of moving further until the neutrality of Austria is secured by some concession on her part. According to authentic intelligence, a messenger has arrived at French headquarters to state that Austria will “preserve a strict neutrality, but neither *change nor cede any of her possessions.*”

This language is far from pacific, considering the pretensions of Buonaparte.

The Polish insurrection goes on so ill that the French are much dissatisfied; and the 1st of January passed without the nomination of a sovereign, which was promised. The nobles have been chiefly *obliged* to serve, and particularly Prince Poniatowsky, whose proclamation is in truth a protest.

The Prussians at Elbing, and from the garrison of Dantzic, have made several successful enterprises,

taking two hundred men prisoners altogether, killing as many, and collecting from the runaways four hundred stand of arms.

The Queen's gendarmes—a regiment which behaved very ill at Jena—have also made some little attacks that have always been advantageous and honourable; so that the Prussians are recovering from their panic. This gives to their petty officers a confidence to which they would not otherwise be entitled.

Three new levies are forming rapidly, but the want of arms prevents their service. An anecdote was told us yesterday by Count Zastrow relative to this want of arms, which is very curious. Prince Hatzfelt was ordered by the king, after the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, to deliver instantly sixty thousand stand of arms to the officer sent with the order. The prince, who had been made governor by the townspeople, refused to deliver these arms, on the ground that the French would increase the exactions upon Berlin in consequence. The king, furious at this treason, commanded him instantly to his estates: but before the command arrived the prince had been in the guard-house of the French troops to be shot for sending intelligence to Prince Hohenlohe contrary to the French interests and his duty, as they pretended.

Such a contradiction of conduct is scarcely to be accounted for; but it is certain that he had been long discontented because the king did not give him employment.

The road from Colberg to Dantzic is still open, and Prussian soldiers and passengers daily arrive; but the Prince of Baden has received orders to besiege Col-

berg. This place, if England or Sweden supports, may hold out a long time, and there is reason for assurance that the Baden troops are not very zealous in the cause of their masters. If the Russian army gains but one decisive victory, they will not be the only seceders from an alliance which hourly becomes more intolerable. There is no intelligence from Silesia further than that Breslau is besieged and must soon surrender.

There is no preparation for any movement from this place. The king will stand as long as he can on the last spot of his own territory, and he even regrets his departure from Königsberg. The column which menaces that city is very feeble, and commanded by General Colbert; so that General Ruchel is in no immediate apprehension of an attack. According to the last reports the French were not advanced further than Bartenstein, six German miles from Königsberg; but they had sent to demand wine. General Ruchel had refused to give it to the French troops, but he sent a small quantity to the commander as a private present.

Count Zastrow told us yesterday that the French general had proposed a conference with General Lestocq and General Ruchel on the subject of a letter sent by the king. General Lestocq and General Ruchel, knowing of no such letter, declined the interview, and Zastrow declares that no letter has ever been sent; so that this is a fabrication for some purpose not yet ascertained.

The ships with the Prussian treasure have escaped shipwreck in the late tremendous storms, and are now probably on their way to Copenhagen under convoy

of the *Sparrow*. They are to proceed to England if Denmark hesitates to give them protection.

Memel, January 20, 1806.

On the 19th I sent my letters on board a vessel which was to sail for England, as the wind was fair. In the evening the king sent again to inquire whether she would positively sail, as he wished to go and see her pass the bar. Having informed myself that she was going immediately, I acquainted him and he went to the strand; but he had not gone above ten minutes when the master of the vessel came to tell me that the wind had changed again and the pilot could not take her out. I therefore had to run after the king, and overtaking him, apologized for the walk I had occasioned him: he was very gracious on that head, and I walked with him until a *traîneau* came up, into which he entered with the Countesses Muhl, Tauenzlein, and Truxeff.

The next day I drove Lord Hutchinson's coach four-in-hand, with such tackling and through such narrow streets, that I am authorized to boast of unparalleled charioteering skill. Lord Gower trusted himself with me on the box, and Kit Hutchinson, Eustace, Harvey, and Hugot, were in the inside.

In the evening I went to present my book to the queen, whom I found sitting up, in much better health than when I last saw her, and equally affable. I remained an hour in her room, and heard from her own mouth the history of those events and that fearful retreat which have interested even her enemies. Throughout she manifested a goodness of heart which made her appear truly amiable, and a just feeling

that ennobles her character. Nor is this eulogium the adulation of a person honoured by her notice, but a tribute due to her qualities and distinguished excellence.

I should disdain the Prussian who would not cheerfully lay down his life for such a queen. And yet how many have been indifferent to her cause and traitors to their country !

On the 19th I drove out again four-in-hand, but had more trouble from an unruly pair of leaders : however, I conducted my charge in safety. We dined with Griffin where I made the acquaintance of Baron Hardenberg, who is well known to be the most honourable friend of England, and the best minister that Prussia ever had. I was much flattered by his manner of receiving the introduction, and I consider him to be the most manly and noble Prussian I have yet seen. He had dined with the king before he came to us. I am sorry to remark that he is not a favourite councillor of his sovereign, who ought to cherish a loyal man since his coldness of character can never attach personal friends ; though many interested courtiers presume to affect that name.

Yesterday I drove Lord Gower in his barouche, though the snow fell heavily. On our return we found Wynn, who had returned from Pillau ; but he had left all our letters in charge of his servant, with orders to sail whenever the weather permitted. We learnt from him that Pakenham had been obliged to put back a second time to Dantzic. How very unfortunate ! We dined with General Zastrow and met a very large party ; all the chief persons in the suite and service of the king were present. An Englishman

of the name of Matthew, in the service of Sweden, brought despatches from Vienna during dinner and is proceeding to England: I have therefore left Lord Hutchinson to come and write quietly. In the day I have no opportunity, since everything here goes too fast where the daylight lasts eight hours and the meals are so early. Lord Gower and Wynn are, however, now rushing in to interrupt me.

Jan. 21.—My troublesome companions kept me up till midnight, when I had to finish a paper* that is of some consequence on political subjects. The morning dawns with an easterly wind and a hard frost; so that I am getting ready my letters in expectation of the vessel getting under weigh from hence this day.

I have just returned from the king, who sent for me to obtain information relative to the vessel's sailing. She will depart at twelve o'clock. The king was uncommonly communicative; and he *has reason* to be gracious for I have served his interest. Wynn proposes to sail in this vessel if he can get accommodation.

Memel, January 21.

The Russians are daily receiving reinforcements. Beningsen proposes to attack the French immediately, as they have been weakened by the sudden march of two divisions across the Vistula for some purpose unknown. There are good accounts from Silesia as to the state of the fortresses, and the Polish insurrection very slowly proceeds.

The French are very sickly and discontented, according to authentic advices. General Rüchel has had an interview with General Colbert, but the object

* See Appendix, No. 6.

of that meeting, requested by the French, is not yet known to the king.

Memel, January 22.

I had just time to pack up my last journal and to give it to Wynn, who embarked in the Danish vessel. The king, the queen, and the royal family, were anxious to see her sail over the bar, and I accompanied the king, the princes, and some of the ladies through the snow for a mile and a half to the lighthouse, where the queen came in her carriage and got out: but after waiting nearly an hour, the vessel was found to be immovable, and we soon learnt that she had struck on a sand-bank; so the royal party returned to dine. On my way back, I saw the vessel get clear again; but as a letter was sent to me by the queen for the Duchess of Saxe Weimar at Copenhagen, I mounted my horse and rode to the quay. There I procured a boat; but after many efforts she was obliged to return without overtaking the vessel.

Baron Hardenberg dined with us; and Lord Gower and I, charmed with the brightness of a northern sky, and in defiance of a most severe frost, walked about until eleven o'clock at night. This morning I drove Lord Gower in a sledge, and had much amusement. Afterwards I rode on horseback, and was nearly frozen. I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, who had taken no cold from her excursion; but she is painfully situated from the illness—attended by raving frenzy—of her maid, who sleeps in the room next to her, and who must die there, since she was not removed in time. I cannot conceive a more dreadful and distressing circumstance for one who is herself an invalid.

The news of an armistice gave us some alarm ; but the proposition made by the French has been refused by the king in a very spirited letter. There is no doubt that the French are in bad case : all their prisoners—and many are daily brought here—agree as to the great sickness, want, and discontent which prevail.

Jan. 25.—Yesterday, Countess de Voss sent to ask me to breakfast, and we met there the king and queen. The queen had lost her maid servant during the night, and I, unacquainted with the fact, noticed the distressing circumstance of her illness, and occasioned her some affliction. We remained about an hour and a half in continual and familiar conversation. The king, particularly, improves upon acquaintance and his reserve altogether vanishes.

At breakfast we had heard of General Victor's capture. He was in a village with his aide-de-camp when ten Prussian soldiers, escaping from prison, made their arrangements, and providing themselves with sticks and two knives waited in the road till his carriage passed. Rushing from their lurking place they seized him. He offered one hundred and fifty louis in gold, his watch, &c., and at last any ransom they would determine upon to recover his liberty : but these gallant, loyal, and honest men, disdaining to barter honour and duty for any pecuniary advantage, refused every offer and brought him safe to Colberg ; overtaking and securing also, by means of a peasant's horse, his valet-de-chambre who had attempted to fly on horseback. The commandant of Colberg, at the earnest request of General Victor, promised to let his servant go in the morning to Stettin where Madame Victor was ; and General Victor employed himself

all night in writing despatches: these being given to the servant, the commandant seized him and secured some valuable papers. He then sent one of his own people to give the tidings of General Victor's misfortune to his wife. The transaction is highly honourable to the Prussian military spirit, and I have urgently pressed this day that the name of each individual shall be published in the "Gazette:" and that they, with others who have acted as meritoriously if not with such brilliant fortune, should receive their medals from the king's own hand with a suitable ceremony. In these times monarchs should not show apathy towards fidelity

General Buxhowden dined with us. He is but a very ordinary man according to my perusal of physiognomy.

This morning I went with Lord Gower to call on Countess Mühl, who we heard was unwell. On passing the ante-chamber I observed on a couch the outline of a human figure covered by a sheet, and I immediately conjectured that this was the corpse of the unfortunate fille-de-chambre removed from the queen's apartments. I was convinced that my conjecture was right by the nervous condition of the Countess Mühl, and her caution to us, on our taking leave, "not to linger a moment in the ante-chamber, as a very sickly person was lying there."

Lord Gower had not penetration enough to discover the secret, but I had so much cruelty as to make him observe the fact as we walked by the body, so that he was very sick; and we both took immediate precautionary measures to escape infection. I really pity the situation of the poor countess, who is obliged to

have such a scaring and dangerous neighbour ; and I do not approve of the feeling of those who prefer vain attentions to the dead to the safety of the living. I have been snuffing my aromatic vinegar all the evening ; and from eight o'clock until ten at night have been driving with Lord Gower, Harvey, Drussini, and Mr. Griffin in a traîneau, for the sake of saturating body and lungs with fresh air.

Jan. 25.—The frost continuing, contrary to expectation, we had a traîneau party. Lord Hutchinson was drawn by six of the king's horses, and I went in a single horse traîneau ; a vehicle which it requires no small skill to conduct safely. Harvey driving a pair of horses went off the road, floundered into a ditch filled with snow, and with great difficulty extricated his horses and his company.

This evening, as Zastrow's information predicted a great battle, Lord Hutchinson ordered me and his brother to leave this at twelve o'clock to-morrow for the Russian army. I have therefore been packing my letters and am ready, but shall not confide in the reality of departure until I am actually through the gates of the town ; for I am aware that the Russian envoy is fearful of our seeing an army in great disorder, and will do his best to prevent our visit. I understand that such is the horror of the Russians from pillage, that for miles not a human being or domestic animal is to be met.

I am sorry to notice that General Buxhowden has received the Prussian Black Eagle, which is the highest order. How can sovereigns trifle thus with their distinctions ? In future, those who wear the order will have to honour it.

Jan. 26.—Lord Hutchinson wishing to see General Zastrow before our departure, did not determine the time till that interview was over ; but the king hearing of our going, sent to ask me and Kit H. with Lord H. to dine. He was very gracious, and after dinner we were ushered into the queen's apartments. We remained some time and then received their farewell benedictions. I do not know that any individual could receive more attentions than I have experienced from this court, and I hope that fortune may enable me to assist their interests by meritorious personal services.

Jan. 27.—The Russians and Prussians are advancing to attack the French, who are retiring : Marshal Ney has fallen back to unite with Bernadotte's division and Augereau's.

The head-quarters of the Russians were two days back at Seeburg, and General Lestocq's were at Mühlisac. General Essen, with his corps, still remains upon the Bug to prevent or check any enterprise from Warsaw upon the left flank of General Bening-sen's army.

The emperor is coming to Wilna immediately, and the King of Prussia proposes to go back to Königsberg, and even hopes to reach Graudenz.

There appears to be a total ignorance of Buonaparte's actual plans ; but he has given grounds for believing that he wishes to afford his troops some repose ; and they demand it. Indeed the weather is too bad for operations if they could be avoided : but the Russians seem anxious to seize the moment when the French will not be able to make use of their artillery, which the state of the roads does not permit to move.

Breslau has surrendered according to some advices,

but the Prussians have still a considerable force in the remaining garrisons of Silesia.

The news from Austria is rather satisfactory.

Some well-informed people pretend that a serious engagement was to take place this day ; but this is not my belief.

Prussian soldiers continue to arrive from Berlin, &c., and the new levies are rapidly organizing.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Memel and arrival at Königsberg—Retreat of Bernadotte's column—Position of French army—Russian head-quarters—Battle of Preussisch Eylau—Heavy loss of the French—Effects of the victory upon Europe—Complete destruction of a French regiment—Forward movement of Russian army—Head-quarters at Preussisch Eylau—Intrepid conduct of a Russian officer—Wretched condition of the inhabitants of Preussisch Eylau—Count Woronzow, his prepossessing manners and appearance—Buonaparte's unskilful conduct—Disposition of the French army—Retreat from Thoin—French losses greatly underrated in the *Moniteur*—Buonaparte refuses the armed mediation of Austria—Arrival at Bartenstein of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia; agreeable manners and handsome person of the former—Russian and Prussian convention—Death of the Empress of Austria—Operations of the allies—Siege of Dantzic—Argument on the Roman Catholic question—Holm Island stormed—Liebstadt burnt down—Unsuccessful attempt to relieve Dantzic—English cutter captured by the French—Queen of Prussia and her parties—Surrender of Dantzic—Arrival at Wuttemberg—Presentation of the order of St George to Russian hussars—Magnificent scenery around Wuttemberg

My departure from Memel was delayed until the morning of the 29th of January, as Lord Hutchinson did not approve of our carriage for travelling; and, at all events the horses, from the state of the ice, could not be passed over the Haff: but at length being provided with an excellent little barouche built at Vienna, we quitted Memel at a quarter before eleven o'clock, A.M. We had not journeyed far before we overtook the French consul from S. Petersburg, with his wife and family, stuck fast in the snow. Intense as is my *national* enmity to the French, I could not *humanly* do an inhospitable act; and therefore we

gave them the assistance of our horses, and showed them other attentions which were very properly received. His name is *Lesseps*, a clever fellow, and a man who has been employed for many years before the French Revolution.

The night was bitterly cold and the wind blew a hurricane through our curtains, but we reached Königsberg in exactly twenty-four hours which is a rapid journey. We called on General Rüchel after dressing ourselves, and learnt from him that the French were in full retreat. This evening, the 30th, I went to Princess Radzivil and Princess Salms, having letters from the queen to them. They were in great anxiety, having expected the French momentarily; but that alarm has happily subsided for the present and, instead of encouraging apprehension for Königsberg, there is reason to check a too sanguine anticipation of return to Berlin.

The French column under General Bernadotte has with difficulty effected its retreat from this neighbourhood, and joined the main army whose left was previously at Lomza. The Prussians under General Lestocq, and a corps from Dantzic with the Russians, have made a French general, Lescure, fifty officers, and above seven hundred men altogether, prisoners; besides killing and wounding many, taking seven guns and twenty-one baggage-waggon, with Bernadotte's mistress, private secretary, and property; they have also recovered twenty thousand ducats which the French had levied on Elbing.

A French general, Thierry, with his aide-de-camp, has come over to the Russians: he describes the state of the French army as most deplorable from discon-

tent and want of provisions. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that his accounts are not exaggerated; and, without doubt, Buonaparte has been discomfited to a degree that he has never before experienced in Europe.

In consequence of the late forced marches General Beningsen has resolved to remain a few days at Osterode, to refresh his troops and arrange for further operations. These must be decisive if Buonaparte will not quit his position without hazarding a battle. At present his right is upon Pultusk, and his left is appuyed upon Warsaw. There are however accounts, which may be relied on, of his withdrawing from thence; so that some officers presume upon his immediate retreat to the Oder. His army certainly demand winter quarters, and he has great difficulty in maintaining them where he is. This his celebrated conversation with the Polish deputies proves, if such proofs were necessary for corroboration.

If the Russians obtain one more considerable advantage, then other powers will assist; in fact they will do so if the war can be maintained till the spring. The Prussian affairs are, upon the whole, far more prosperous than they were; and, notwithstanding that some amicable adjustment is now pending, there is no ground for suspicion that timid councils will again save Napoleon.

Preussisch Holland, 95 miles from Königsberg, South, Feb. 1.

In the evening of the 30th of January, as we had been detained for the purchase of two horses with which to join the army, I went after dining with General Rüchel

to the Princess Salms' where we had a tea-party ; and Prince Radzivil, who is a master with his pencil, amused himself by taking a likeness of me, drawing the exact outline of the features and the shape of the head by placing my face upon the paper. I passed a very agreeable evening, and in the instance of Princess Radzivil, found how accomplished manners can render a person of few personal attractions a charming companion. The late minister Stein and several others formed the male society.

General Rüchel, who had received us with the most distinguished kindness having given the necessary passports for our horses, we resolved to set off early next morning. I omitted to mention that at dinner, to our great surprise, we saw a lady and two very handsome young women. I was placed on the left of the younger of them, and was at table an hour with her before I discovered that she was the daughter of the general : so deaf had I been at the presentation.

If affairs had not changed, the general, his family, and several others, had resolved to go out as colonists to America rather than live under the French government. This is a trait that does him equal honour with his gallant conduct in the field at Jena, and his subsequent bearing as chief of the remaining Prussian army.

Yesterday morning we got away from Königsberg about seven o'clock, and travelled until we reached this place ; passing through several towns that had been evacuated by the French, and where we heard the most calamitous accounts of their sackage and ill-treatment of the women. Generals and officers of all ranks had systematized plunder, and consequently

no abuses or violence could be prevented by their authority. They are, however, suffering chastisement, as the Prussians and Russians are pressing them with the sword in their loins, and driving them like sheep; taking their baggage, and numerous prisoners who are generally wounded before they have been spared.

February 7, Landsberg.

How drolly events form a circle! When I last wrote we were the victors; since the 3rd we have been fugitives; and since the 2nd I have never taken off my clothes, lain on a bed, or changed an article of linen, until half an hour since when I bought a peasant's shirt for seven shillings to allow of my own being washed. Well! Two days hence we shall be singing again pæans of triumph most probably, and we really live on hope; for our fatigues have worn down the animal strength.

On the 1st we reached General Beningsen's head-quarters at Mohrunen, and were received by him, as I expected, with all possible and pleasing consideration. We were lodged in his house and in the room where Bernadotte a few nights before had slept, and in which all his baggage had been taken by the Russians. We were made a part of his family and instantly admitted to his confidence.

During dinner accounts came from all quarters of prisoners being brought in. Several French officers arrived, and a courier was taken bearing the whole plans of Buonaparte, who had come from Warsaw, where he had been continually dancing, to revenge himself upon the Russians: who, exclusive of various successes, had killed and wounded above fifteen hun-

dred of his troops at Mohrungen two days before I arrived. Their bodies were lying to the right and left of the road by which we passed.

General Beningsen did not, however, decide to move until the 3rd in the morning. We had luckily purchased three horses to draw our carriage, for not a single horse was to be hired. We went on slowly about ten miles, when some Russian officers inviting us into a house to eat some black bread we got out; and Kit and I coming away desired the carriage to follow, and proceeded on foot without our swords. No carriage appearing, we had to walk in great uneasiness five miles before we came to any village. We had been cautioned that the strangeness of our uniforms might subject us to embarrassment from the Cossacks; and, therefore, we gladly met with a Prussian in the Russian service who endeavoured to get fresh horses for us, and at last procured a sledge for us to go in and a Cossack to take us in charge. As I was running down the road to take one view more in the hopes of seeing the carriage, another party of Cossacks met me: one of them, mistaking me for a Frenchman, was preparing to give me a dexterous poke with his lance, when his intention was diverted by seeing my own Cossack coming towards me. As Kit and I were getting into the sledge our carriage arrived but the horses were too much knocked up to proceed, and our Prussian friend prevailed on another Cossack to remain with it and bring it forward during the night.

Having arranged our matters so well we composed ourselves in the sledge as well as we could,

but I never was so uncomfortable. My heels were higher than my head; the snow fell in large blotches; and we every moment expected to be overturned, as the night was so dark that the right track could not be followed. There was, however, some relief in the romance of the scene, and our Cossack was joined by two others who sang very sweetly and harmoniously some plaintive music. The French may accuse the Russian hordes of being barbarians, but their language is much softer than their own. In four miles we passed some Russian battalions at their bivouac round large fires, and the anticipation of the morning's service called up many recollections. In another mile we reached the head-quarters at Jarnova, and General Beningsen instantly ordered us refreshment, for he had dined.

About nine o'clock we attempted to lie down, but at midnight the general himself roused us by an alarm that the enemy was advancing; which proved to be erroneous. Our small room was, however, afterwards too crowded for any repose, and we sat down to talk the night away with princes, generals, and men of distinction: while the lights of a camp in which eighty thousand troops were assembled, blazed with a splendour superior to the day.

At daybreak we mounted our horses: General Beningsen lent them. The one Kit rode was mounted by General Amdrett, who was killed from him six days ago; the horse also was wounded, but not sufficiently to lame him. The one I sprang upon had been ridden by the Emperor Alexander, and is a most beautiful animal. We have had them both ever since in our possession.

We now went round the army, and never in my life did I behold such a martial spectacle. The countenances and figures of the men, and their habiliments, reminded me of the description of the Macedonian veterans: and when we looked at the ground covered with snow their only resting-place, the sky driven with a fierce south-east blast their only canopy; when we recollected that these men had been gathered from the most remote regions of the globe, and had just performed a march of twenty-eight days without any interval of repose, I could not but admire and hope. Eighty thousand men and five hundred and forty-six pieces of cannon crowned the position, which was however untenable from local weaknesses. The enemy not attacking as was expected, we returned to dine: but the general afterwards resolving to attack the enemy and force Allenstein, Prince Galitzin was ordered upon this service, and I obtained leave to go with him. My helmet excited much apprehension for my safety, as exposing me to be mistaken by the Cossacks: but as I persevered in wearing it a Cossack was attached to me and another to Kit for our protection, and I promised to keep near Prince Wurtemberg and General Tolstoy. The former is a very fine young man; the latter older, and agreeably estimable. With both of them I have lived since coming to the army.

The attack being ordered and the troops on the march, the French drew out a stronger line than we supposed to be there from the attack not being made in the morning. A skirmish began and in about an hour's time a heavy fire opened on our left, as the enemy wished to carry a bridge. Twice they passed,

and as often the three Russian battalions stationed there charged with most animating shouts, and finally maintained the post: but the loss on both sides was above three hundred men.

On the left the French cavalry attempted to advance, but were charged by the Russian hussars and driven back. Night terminated the contest.

General Beningsen now finding from the reports of the prisoners that Buonaparte with his whole army was before him, determined to retire into a position where he could fight with advantage: but his object in the circumstances of the time was not to fight a decisive battle if it could be avoided. He therefore marched during the night; but the country only admitting of two columns, the great extension retarded the rear-guard, five thousand men, and kept them until near nine o'clock on the ground: they then retired under the command of Prince Bagrathion, fighting the whole way, to their new position. The firing was very heavy on both sides, and all reports of prisoners confirm the calculation that the loss of two thousand men was equal on both sides. Night again proved the friend of humanity. We had this day taken up our position. In the evening a Frenchman was brought in with the most terrible sabre wound I ever beheld: his nose, cheeks, lips, and chin were actually shaved away: and yet the poor wretch lived; and was sensible of attention, as he expressed great gratitude for my obtaining him a room, and with much difficulty a surgeon, for they are scarce in the Russian army and the camp was at some distance: besides, when men are so fatigued, they are not capable of performing gratuitous service at the expense of walking

a mile in the snow. At night we marched again, and yesterday reached Frauendorf. The rear-guard was attacked feebly and lost only two hundred men, but neither on this day nor on the day before a single piece of cannon. The Cossacks, however, took a colonel and killed a French officer, who cried out for quarter as he was a general. The French also lost many men, since they had to force the entrances to all the small woods. The colonel was brought to head-quarters last night wounded in two places with a pike: he told us that the French had lost so many men the day before that Buonaparte, who was in the field, acted with the greatest caution. He admitted that the Russians had gained the battle of Pultusk, and that the general topic of the army was that Beningsen was the only man who had ever in Europe repulsed the emperor.

Kit gave up his bed to the officer, and we both showed him so much kindness that he asked for our names; but we did not give them. As an Englishman, I hate the French nation from my soul for their aggressive wars and their violation of all the rights of a common humanity; but as a man, I cannot treat individuals of that nation ill, although I often profess to show them no good will. At twelve o'clock, midnight, we again marched, but having lost the general I rode on with an officer and got in here by eight o'clock, passing one column eight miles long without any heavy artillery or cavalry. Wrote to Lord Hutchinson.

Königsberg, February 9.

I left off writing to witness a very severe action, in which, on both sides, about three thousand men fell,

and Prince Galitzin, a young man, lost his life. The Russians again behaved with the greatest courage, and did not lose an inch of ground. The whole manœuvring was beautiful, and the French showed about twenty thousand men. Again night spared the effusion of blood, and we travelled at eleven o'clock, miserably cold, till we reached Preussisch Eylau, distant eighteen miles. Here I could not support myself any longer, being so overcome with fatigue, and I reclined in a chair to sleep. The general, however, going to review his field of battle I was obliged to attend him, and, except for two hours, remained on my horse until midnight. The transactions of the evening and of the following day are in my letter to Lord Hutchinson,* which is to be only very confidentially read by one or two persons; and by Mr. Canning if the former letters are sent to him, but without the paragraphs relating to myself at the end. In this private journal I can only add, that on the evening of the 7th I accompanied the Russians into the village and witnessed their bravery. On the 8th the fire was very heavy, and death flew in every direction. I never saw such a lamentable spectacle as the scene of battle presented when the exultation of triumph ceased.

During the battle having gone to the front, as I was returning from the French side I was seized as a prisoner by some Hulans, although I had got on a fur cap; and with difficulty was liberated after a half-hour's detention. Had I worn my helmet, I must have suffered the penalty of a pot with the lance.

One circumstance, remarkable for my short sight, I must mention. I saw a ball coming so true upon me

* See Appendix, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5.

and another man riding beside me, that I spurred my horse and shouted to the unfortunate fellow to do the same : but not understanding me he only gazed, when the next moment both his legs were carried away.

After the battle, General Beningsen and all of us were obliged to seek quarters in a house occupied by the dead and dying and mangled, whose shrieks were horrible, while the smell was frightfully offensive. I therefore went out with General Tolstoy and Kit, and slept in an outhouse till midnight. We did not rejoin until ten o'clock when we marched again. Having missed General Beningsen, Kit and I, for fear of being taken for Frenchmen, rested at a fire by the roadside until a party of the staff overtook us. The head-quarters being within nine miles of Königsberg, and as I had had nothing to eat for forty hours except a *crumb* of the sourest black bread given me by a Cossack, and the head-quarters being occupied by the wounded so as to be infected with the most horrible stench, I galloped on here to refresh myself write my letters and sleep this night, to return at daybreak. Princes Tobolsky and Wurtemberg came in afterwards.

This moment, I am told, the messenger for Dantzig is ready. I have not time to write any letters ; and only a moment to say, God bless my wife and all.

Königsberg, February 11.

Yesterday we went out to General Beningsen, whom we met coming on to Königsberg. Returned with him. This morning I was preparing to go with General Beningsen to an out-quarter five English miles from hence, as he did not choose to be living

in luxurious ease while his army was suffering hardship, when Mr. Phillips, an English merchant, brought us intelligence that the French were attacking our advanced posts. I do not believe one syllable of the report.

The loss in killed and wounded in the great battle of Preussisch Eylau has been more considerable than I stated. The Russians had near twelve thousand men killed and wounded, seven generals, and eight hundred officers. The French must have suffered far more considerably. Maret, the son of the minister, who was in the French guards and is now a prisoner and wounded, declares that the guards are nearly annihilated; they having formed a column which endeavoured to advance from Preussisch Eylau under the immediate orders of Buonaparte, who stood behind the church. At this column forty pieces of cannon launched their thunderbolts until the ranks, as I saw myself, were pierced like a cullender; when the remainder fled in the wildest disorder.

A French colonel who came in with a flag of truce admitted, the day before yesterday, that many French generals were wounded: he asked after a *maréchal-du-camp* who is missing, but he would not tell his name.

The French sent in this flag of truce under the pretence of asking the Russians to send medical assistance to the wounded, but in reality to learn what might be the feeling and state of the army: for the Russians never have the means of taking care of the wounded, nor indeed give themselves much trouble about them as the French well know. Eighteen standards are taken altogether, and I send a piece of

the colours belonging to the forty-fourth regiment. The eagle surmounting is sent to S. Petersburg. I believe more standards were actually taken, but the Cossacks have concealed them as the eagles are silver. This will occasion an order relative to remuneration which may prevent such practices in future.

Fifteen hundred prisoners have been brought in, chiefly wounded. One of the prisoners amused us yesterday by saying that "the Cossacks were not content with *sticking* but they *larded* them:" alluding to the many perforations they made with their spears. The inhabitants of Königsberg have made great subscriptions for the wounded Russians and French. Lord Hutchinson has given 50*l.*, and Kit and myself 5*l.* 5*s.* each. Kit put down his brother's name at a venture, but he did perfectly right. Reinforcements from all quarters are arriving to us. To-morrow twenty-two regiments of the Cossacks of the Don join, and also twenty battalions and twenty-five squadrons of Russians from Essen's army. Six thousand Prussian horse have joined Lestocq from Tilsit; and eighty thousand troops to recruit us and Essen's corps have passed the frontiers of Russia. The weather since the day before yesterday is also changed: so that the rivers and lakes are impassable for the French artillery, and the roads will be so bad that the retreat of Buonaparte must be disastrous. The Cossacks since the battle have taken several officers and men prisoners. They all confirm the news of the heavy loss of the French, their discontent, miserable condition, and dispirited state.

My friend, whose acquaintance I first made by Count Woronzow's kindness, went off last night to

S. Petersburg with the standards. He returns in fifteen days. I requested him to bring a beautiful Russian cap, which I propose to send for Jemima's head-dress or a model for one. The white material which is cashmere ought perhaps, for a lady, to be satin, and her taste may make other improvements; but I was captivated by the first I saw in the possession of General Kratow.

The kindness of all ranks to us is very great, and since our fellowship of service and danger we have received flattering tokens of esteem. We are a part of General Beningsen's family now and henceforth, and so have no *culinary* embarrassments. My fine horse Alexander was the best in the field undoubtedly, but he was sadly tired at last. I shall be very sorry to surrender him. How I lament the absence of my own! My baggage is safe. The horses which we sent for upon Phillips' report are announced. If there is a fight we shall conquer, or perish in a common extermination

February 11, Midnight.

I went to camp and found that the enemy was advancing, but not with the intent of giving battle this day. The camp was moved to the left and there was a disposition to abandon the town. Against this I strongly remonstrated: for here we are in a situation in which for the good of Europe we must sacrifice ourselves, if the enemy, reinforced and pressed by hunger, is driven to the extremity of hazarding battle. I gave a very disinterested counsel, for I have to apprehend more than death in the field by such a resistance as would insure my capture or extinction.

A French prisoner, a very intelligent fellow, was

brought in. He states the loss of the French as avowed by the generals to be fifteen thousand men. Augereau was severely wounded in the leg; many other generals were wounded, and some killed. Buonaparte was actually behind the church during the whole action: and was in an agony when his friends were mowed down and driven back.

For eight days the French have had no bread, only a few potatoes of which they have robbed the peasants: no wine or spirits, and only snow for water. He states, moreover, that Buonaparte conceals himself now from the troops to avoid their murmurs.

Maret, the son of the minister, died this day of his wounds. The general believes that to-morrow the French will attack: *I do not*; but at all events we shall have a fight in forty-eight hours, as we then become the assailants. Had I twelve thousand men I would undertake to put the whole French army in retreat, and secure their heavy artillery. The weather continues open fortunately; this strengthens us and impedes the enemy. We dined with Princes Mecklenburg and Wurtemberg and another officer, as General Beningsen was not at home, and spent a pleasant afternoon.

Feb. 12.—Nothing particular occurred until noon, when the Cossacks attacked the ninth regiment of chasseurs-à-cheval, killed two hundred, and made three officers and fifty privates prisoners. Went with Princes Mecklenburg and Wurtemberg in the evening to Princess Salms' by appointment; but found her on the eve of departure, as she had received an order from her lord and master to leave Königsberg immediately for a place one German mile off, that

she might avoid the danger of any attack upon the town. This change of place to a woman expecting confinement immediately was very disagreeable; but nothing is more horrible than the licentiousness of a soldiery in the time of *privileged disorder*, which assaults may be termed. I was always sure that the French were too much broken to hazard another action; for not only was Buonaparte conquered, but his army was subdued by shame and by the consciousness of inferiority in point of courage. Events daily prove my opinion to have been correct: and I am justified, because with this opinion I boldly combated despondency; and I requested Lord Hutchinson to assure the government *on my responsibility* that the battle of Preussisch Eylau was decisive of the fate of Europe. General Tolstoy, the inspector-general, thought so far differently that he betted me 5*l.* 5*s.* that Buonaparte would make another desperate effort. He now admits that I formed a more accurate judgment, and that his money is lost.

For the world in general, I admit that the resignation of a field of battle is the surrender of an important trophy: but we had an object in view which we maintained; namely, to recruit and equip our army at Königsberg, and prevent the French from getting there. I am not surprised that the inhabitants of that town should have felt terror; for the mighty illumination of a vast camp of eighty thousand men close under the ramparts, if affording a beautiful spectacle must also inspire sentiments of alarm when the cause of this approximation is considered. When I use the term “camp,” &c., no idea of sheltering canvas must be attached to it, for the troops have no

bed but the alternately melting and freezing snow, and no canopy but the heavens.

Yesterday, notwithstanding that my eyes were very bad, I could not keep house ; the time is too interesting : and therefore I rode about, which, strange to say, did my eyes great service with the aid of a liquid given me for them the night before by Countess Lestocq.

The Cossacks brought in fifteen prisoners, and General Liancourt's orderly ; the general himself having escaped by the fleetness of his horse. They also took ten thousand loaves which the French had ordered several villages to bake for their use under penalty of death. In consequence the French outposts retired considerably.

Dined with the general. In the evening General Bertrand came to our outposts and demanded permission to go to Memel to see the king, as he was sent by the Emperor of France. He received for answer that the order must come from Memel for such permission. The French soldiers who came with him implored the Cossacks for bread, and devoured some with the most painful avidity. More was sent to them from hence. Never was an army in a more dreadful situation. In a few hours they will be surrounded with fire, sword, and famine.

Buonaparte himself is in the greatest agony. He wept bitterly, as he rode over the ground the day after the action, and came to the spot where one of his columns had been cut to pieces to a man. He now hides from his army, who execrate his ambition and rejoice in his downfall.

Supped with Tolstoy, Kratow, Osterman, &c.

Tolstoy is gone this morning to conduct a corps

that may fall on the rear of the enemy. I shall follow him having obtained permission, or rather having been invited. The French last night withdrew their posts behind the Frisching: which makes us uneasy lest they should be flying beyond our reach.

Feb. 14.—This morning I received a letter from home dated January 4th: but if my happiness was great at hearing that my dear wife and children were well, alas! how painful was the report that my poor horses had suffered so much and were no more. Dear Leopold! I really had an affection for you living, and “mourn you dead for the good you did me living.” With respect to the pecuniary loss it is heavy; but I am a philosopher, and when I see so much greater evils fall upon others I cannot with reason say more than—Would it were not so!

I also find by a letter from Eustace, that the unfortunate *Sparrow* has again been nearly lost, and obliged to seek shelter in the Earholms where she is repairing. Alas! my friends, my cherry brandy, and my amber! I am almost afraid of myself from the unlucky disasters which befall all I approach. Not even the castle of Cronberg, into which I alone of all our party entered, could afterwards resist the malignant influence of my presence and the fury of the tempest.

I cannot but observe another incident also. When I go out of England there is always in my letters a catalogue of deaths: but never of marriages.

This day, three hundred and fifty Cossacks and four hundred hussars attacked six regiments of French dragoons at Buchersdorf, on our left, who were reconnoitring with General Milhaud. The charge was successful. Three hundred remained dead on the field,

and two hundred and eighty prisoners have this instant been brought in, many of them desperately wounded with pikes; among which number is the major: eight officers are also taken, and several standards. I am afraid of being thought an imitator of the French reports when I add that there were only four Cosacks wounded; but the fact is certain, and the circumstance is to be accounted for from the terror that the battle of Preussisch Eylau has created. However the French may vaunt their former prowess I do positively assert that their present conduct is characterised by the most effeminate pusillanimity. I have been told that they showed more courage against the Prussians and the Austrians in the last coalition, but I solemnly believe that their enemies displayed less valour; and that the French have never changed from the time I first saw them to this moment. Their aptitude for war consists in the service of tirailleurs, and they can and will continue under such a fire without shrinking: but when the man is to grapple with the man, then the Frenchman's heart fails and the limbs follow the impulse of the sinking spirit.

Some of the officers with whom I conversed boast of having obtained finally the field of battle. In the time of the ancients much honour may have been attached to the possession of the dead: but modern warfare, with more justice, gives the trophy to that army which conquers its assailants in the fight, wrests from them their standards, and has no wounds but those in which men may glory.

I did not go, as I proposed, with Count Tolstoy; as the general imagines that we may have enough to do in our front. I confess that to get in the rear of

Buonaparte is one of my objects ; for somehow or other I think that his capture is not impossible, and perhaps I might be the instrument to avenge the world. The very thought makes me almost delirious. There is a project for cantooning twenty thousand men in this town : I do not however suppose that the measure will be adopted.

Four Russians who had been marauding have been taken by the peasants in consequence of a reward of two ducats per head being offered for such offenders ; and have been ordered to be shot. I do not believe it will be done : but some example perhaps is necessary.

The French general, Bertrand, having stated that his mission was of the utmost importance to the King of Prussia has at length received permission to pass through Königsberg ; but he is to come at night and we have just sent to escort him. I have no doubt that his instructions are to propose an armistice, which will be refused.

The situation of the wounded here is most dreadful : to this day the wounds of many have not been dressed ; and out of the limbs of several double-headed bullets, stones, pieces of iron, and of pewter, have been cut. They are to be shown to General Bertrand as he passes. How dare the French miscreants accuse the Russians of being barbarians ? Have they a right to expect quarter and humane treatment when such is their practice ?

February 17, Eight o'clock.

On the 15th I sent off my letters to Dantzic, and rode out with Prince Tubiskoy to dine with Prince Bagrathion and the Hetman of the Cossacks at the outposts. The princes with their aides-de-camp were

in a small room, the floor of which was covered with straw: this was our bed at night. We had two excellent soup and meat dishes, and could not have feasted with more enjoyment at a lord mayor's entertainment. After dinner I went with a flag of truce to the French posts; having several letters from their prisoners in this town and also some money for Russian prisoners. The officer who received them gave his name as Monaco. I suppose he was the prince of that house; and I think that I remember such a man in London, wearing spectacles. In the afternoon one hundred and sixty French prisoners, for the most part severely wounded, and several officers, were brought in. They had been taken in the villages of Mahnsfeld and Hermsdorf on our right by the Cossacks and some hussars. Three hundred were killed. Of the whole regiment of the 17th chasseurs not a man escaped, except the colonel, who was mounted on a fleet horse. This same regiment, which on this day lost four hundred men, had at the affair of Mohrunen lost one hundred and fifty. General D'Alembert, who commanded the attack, unfortunately fell with his horse after the action was over, and broke or dislocated his ancle. No circumstance can more strongly prove the dastardly terror of the French since the battle of the 8th, than that the Cossacks, with some regiments of hussars, have killed above seven hundred dragoons, and taken as many—with a standard—within four days; and that they have only experienced a loss in killed and wounded of twenty men. I admit that this statement appears to be fabulous, but the fact is solemnly true.

The Cossacks are now so rich that many valuable articles are to be bought for a trifle, and crosses of the Legion of Honour are to be had for nothing. Horses have no purchasers, but, to say the truth, those taken from the French are worth very little: out of a batch of five hundred only forty could serve the Russian army. From all quarters good news arrived to us. A detachment under Colonel Knoring attacked near Chorzellen a French post of two thousand five hundred men, killed and made prisoners of many men and took six pieces of cannon. Another detachment fell in with an escort near Willenberg conveying five hundred Russian and eight hundred Prussian prisoners to Warsaw, and destroying the escort liberated the convoy.

We lay down early on our straw and slept until daybreak soundly. Dinner was ready at twelve o'clock: and afterwards Prince Bagrathion and I came into town in a post waggon. I cannot tell all the kindness of this gallant general towards me, for every instant he gives me some mark of his attachment which is certainly very flattering. I have promised to accompany him to S. Petersburg, and I have accepted a Persian dagger with other little curiosities which he forced upon me as tokens of his regard. The prince, indefatigable in his duty, returned to Ludwigswalde: after paying my respects to General Beningsen I went to my room with Kit, and we wrote until ten o'clock at night, when we retired to rest.

Lord Hutchinson sent us each a horse yesterday, so I have now two and there is a fifth between us. John Sobieski is however but a poor exchange for the noble Leopold.

A merchant has just been to tell us that he hears a cannonade ; so we are going to mount our horses : but I am certain that this is a false alarm.

Feb. 19.—As I suspected, the fears of the merchant converted the resounding hammer of the mechanic into the report of fire-arms ; and instead of an advancing enemy, we received accounts of their flying from the Cossacks in every direction. The very evening on which I left the advanced posts the Cossacks, impatient of the cold service of stationary videttes, with one accord galloped forward, forced the enemy's line of videttes, and arrived at the main picket with the fugitives ; where they put to death forty men, and made thirty prisoners among whom were several officers.

After dinner the Prince Bagrathion confidentially told me that he was going to S. Petersburg in two hours, which I confess surprised me : nor can I account for this sudden order, although he told me that he went to urge great operations.

Prince Tubiskoy, a very kind friend to us, accompanied him, and they wanted me to be of the party ; but I could not do it although they are to be back in thirteen days. I gave them a ham as a certain repast on their journey, for much of it is through a wilderness. The French this day sent to ask for an armistice, which was refused ; and at night General Bertrand returned from Memel where, I understand, he had not been well received by the king. He saw General Beningsen and earnestly solicited him to make some arrangements to give repose to the armies after such a rude campaign. The general neither assented nor refused, as he wished to have the power of

accepting or rejecting when the proposition is again made.

General Bertrand stated that the loss in the battle of Preussisch Eylau had fallen heavily on the French generals, as Buonaparte had insisted on their leading the columns. He told the general also that Buonaparte admitted the retreat of the Russians to have been a movement full of instruction. From General Bertrand's manner it was evident that a French coxcomb can be beaten into modest deportment.

Yesterday we received advices from all quarters that the enemy were retiring, and that our posts were pressing forward with surprising success. As the general dined out we dined with the Prince of Mecklenburg and went with him to the play, where I stayed but a short time as I wished to write the paper enclosed. In the morning I had called on Captain Fanshaw, the son of General Fanshaw, who was in our service and who is now commander-in-chief of the Crimea. Captain Fanshaw was seriously wounded in the battle of the 8th. The ball is still lodged somewhere in the jaw. I went to offer him every assistance in my power. In the evening we received the report from General Platow that his Cossacks had killed a great number of French dragoons, and taken one hundred prisoners of which sixty-eight were cavalry, with a loss of only two Cossacks killed and two wounded. I allow that all this appears incredible; but panic is one of the most wonderful agents operating on the human system, and the Cossacks have become heroes as their enemies have degenerated into cowards.

This morning I have had to report officially still more

important tidings. The enemy, harassed by the destructive warfare urged against them and fearful of greater enterprises, are retiring with the utmost precipitation; leaving Bartenstein, Preussisch Eylau, Zinten, &c., and in Preussisch Eylau, all his sick and wounded and many wounded Russians; and strewing the road with baggage, tumbrils, &c. Already a very considerable number of prisoners have been brought in; but I cannot ascertain the amount until the evening when the returns are sent to the head-quarters. I have also had to announce, upon General Beningsen's authority, that the Austrian minister has quitted Warsaw, which is considered a certain indication of immediate hostility against France; that the Austrian government has refused the demand made for the passage of troops through her states from Italy to Poland: and that the Russian General Michelson has joined the Servians at Widdin, with the intention of pressing down upon Dalmatia; from which province the French are already withdrawing with the loss of their sick and wounded.

The Russian army moves forward this day, and no time will be given to the enemy for repose; but the head-quarters remain here for a day or two, as the general wishes to have an answer from S. Petersburg as to the plan of the campaign which he has projected.

For the last six days the weather has been very mild. The snow had almost disappeared, and the rivers began to run: but now the snow falls heavily again; and there is an appearance of frost, which would assist the French in the transport of their cannon.

We are all in high spirits. The troops are much

refreshed, and particularly the cavalry. Prince Sedmorasky, with his corps of twelve thousand men, and the long-expected Cossacks, have joined the Prussians at Friedland and are moving forward against the enemy's right flank and rear. I suspect that Buonaparte will cross the Vistula immediately, and at Thorn. He cannot delay on this side: we can cut him off by sending an army over the Vistula if he lingers any time, and the movement of the Austrians upon Posen would altogether shut the passage against him and his army.

Feb. 20.—Yesterday we received advices that the enemy had evacuated Landsberg. General Platow is pursuing, and takes many prisoners, much baggage, &c. Amongst the booty yesterday he possessed himself of a harouche with four English horses, belonging to some French general; but the name was omitted in the report.

To-morrow head-quarters are to be at Preussisch Eylau, where Europe ought to erect a monument consecrated to victory and independence. General Lestocq this day enters Bartenstein.

A Prussian officer who had been prisoner with the French sixteen days came this morning to Königsberg, and certifies that he saw a route on General Berthier's table for the French army, by which it appears that the whole of Buonaparte's troops are to assemble near Thorn. But they cannot stay there. In the first place they want provisions, and in the second, the corps from Dantzic will oblige them to pass their bridge. At Preussisch Eylau, one thousand wounded Russians were left by the French. We advance with nine days' provisions; and an English merchant at

Dantzic, of whom I have already said so much, has just offered to furnish the army with five hundred hogsheads of rum and brandy when required, besides other supplies; so we shall not want for the present.

We dined yesterday with Prince Galitzin, who gave us an excellent English dinner. In the evening went with Prince Mecklenburg to Princess Salms', who had just returned from her place of retreat. Here we passed an agreeable evening in company with Countess Lestocq, her daughter, and the Duke of Holstein. The occupation of the ladies was making lint for the wounded. It appeared to me that the cutting of skeins of thread would be a much readier method than unweaving linen.

General Platow has just sent in fifty-six prisoners, and General Lestocq sixteen.

General Beningsen is now so confident that he ought to rejoice that he went after dinner to a concert, then to the play, afterwards to Princess Salms'. I declined the honour of accompanying him: but Kit has gone being gallantly inclined, as our faithful Breslaw is returned with the carriages and baggage, after much trouble and many hair-breadth escapes.

Feb. 21.—The official reports from Prince Sedmorsky received this morning, announce that he has taken thirteen hundred prisoners, of whom fifty were chasseurs-à-cheval, since the French commenced their retreat; moreover, that he has captured much baggage (with several ladies). His patrols have entered Liebstadt and Güttsstadt. A proclamation has been obtained; in which Buonaparte states that, after having beaten the Prussians back to their frontier, he is about to give his army winter quarters in Thorn, where "*Gare à celui*

qui ose nous attaquer.” But General Beningsen has received advice that Buonaparte has the intention of going himself immediately to Paris.

A courier also came this morning from General Essen, who brings advice that he was attacked by the enemy on two days, the 13th and 14th, at Ostrolenka; that he destroyed many of the French by grape-shot as they endeavoured to force the town; and that his own loss was only seven hundred men. He states, however, that he proposed, as the enemy was forty thousand strong, to return to his cantonments at Wisokie Masowickie. I suspect that though General Beningsen has nominally the chief command, Essen is acting under the private instructions of the emperor, who has ordered him not to abandon the frontiers of Russia on that side. I suspect, further, that Essen has not the firmness to undertake the responsibility of co-operating with Beningsen, notwithstanding the success at Preussisch Eylau, without positive orders. General Beningsen is much displeased, and we are assured that since the march of Lannes’ division to reinforce Buonaparte, the enemy opposed to Essen does not exceed eighteen thousand men. As no accounts have been received from Tolstoy who went from us with the intention of going to Essen, some uneasiness is excited for his safety. General Kratow and another officer were in his suite, and I had almost settled to accompany him as I expected active movements on that side.

General Beningsen has also had this day most satisfactory accounts from Vienna. The news of the success of Preussisch Eylau will, I trust, induce the arch-duke to march instantly.

We certainly fix the head-quarters to-morrow at Preussisch Eylau, and advance the next day again.

With the piece of the colours taken at Preussisch Eylau, I enclosed a cross of the Legion of Honour which belonged to an unfortunate fellow whom I saw without a head.

General Platow's report of last night states that in Liebstadt he made in the morning three hundred and eighty-six prisoners with four officers; but he released two hundred Russians who had been picked up in our retrograde movement, and possessed himself of magazines that the enemy had been collecting there. He adds, moreover, "I expect that my new Cossacks will speedily execute an enterprise of far greater moment." The head-quarters were not transferred in person this day, but we sent forward our horses, &c., and go post to-morrow to Zinten which is more to the right than Preussisch Eylau. The next day we move to Mehlsack, unless the enemy flies so rapidly that we must continue our pursuit still further by post.

Buonaparte, we hear this day, has opened a new source of ways and means by selling military rank to the Poles, which they esteem so much as to hazard all their possessions and even their heads to attain it. A Count Czeratzki is among the number of the unfortunates who, confiding in the permanent triumphs and more extensive conquests of Buonaparte, paid down fifty thousand dollars for the assignment of a regiment to be raised in Polish Russia, where he has estates. His attainder, with the confiscation of his property, is the reward of his ambition to be a colonel of insurgents.

At dinner this day we received an account of the

massacre of twenty-six Russians and two Prussians by a French officer who commanded an escort, and who put these unfortunate people to death because their wounds prevented them from marching expeditiously. I am happy to add that the Cossacks put to death the captain who gave the order, when they became acquainted with the fact by taking the whole escort. These atrocities will make the war very sanguinary. How different from such a warfare was that when at the battle of Fontenoy the French and English guards paid the compliments of a salute to each other before they discharged their fire! Amidst such degenerating traits of humanity one is glad to have the power of marking incidents that are more grateful to the feelings of civilized beings: and with pleasure I state that some days since the following fact occurred. A Russian officer, stationed on the banks of a river where his party and the French kept firing at each other, went after some time into a house where he was sheltered. A French officer advancing, reproached the Russians with the cowardice of their commanding officer; who instantly left the house on hearing their insult, and approaching the Frenchman requested him to stop the firing of his people that they might decide with the sword, in the presence of both posts, which of the two was the most courageous. The French officer assented, and was in the act of commanding his men to cease firing, when a Russian ball pierced him to the heart. The Russian officer instantly rushed forward and cried out to the French soldiers, "My life shall make reparation for this accident. Let these marksmen fire at me as I stand here!" and turning to his own soldiers he ordered them to cease firing

upon the French, whatever might be his fate, unless they attempted to cross the river. Already one Frenchman had levelled his piece when the French subaltern struck it down with his sword; and running to the Russian, took him by the hand, and declared that no man worthy of the name of a Frenchman would be the executioner of so brave a soldier.

The French soldiers felt the justice of the sentiment, and confirmed it by a general acclamation.

To my great disappointment, I received a parcel of letters yesterday from England, but they were returned letters from the Cape of Good Hope, with a note from Mrs. Garlike acquainting me that the packet with my horses had appeared off Halsrun. We may perhaps see their remains floating into Copenhagen roads. In a letter from Memel, we had an account of Wynn having been shipwrecked off Carlscrona and nearly lost. Several men were drowned, and the despatches lay under water a considerable time, but were finally recovered. How unfortunate all our maritime relations have been ever since we left England!

Feb. 24.—The want of provisions for the army detained the head-quarters here until this day; but they are now moving to Kreutzburg, to-morrow to Landsberg, the next day to Güttsstadt, and the day after to Allenstein, as the army is moving by its left which is an alteration in the original plan.

General Lestocq, who is crossing to join again the right of the Russians, sent in his report last night: stating that he had driven the enemy, consisting of one thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry, from Heilsberg with much loss, and that his advanced guard

was continually sending in prisoners. He further states that Prince Sedmorasky with General Tolstoy entered Bartenstein the day before yesterday; that a considerable corps of the enemy who were at Ortelsburg, and who after various orders received final directions to retire with a train of powder-waggon and some Polish insurgents to Niedenburg, are pressed by several regiments of Cossacks who move on the left of Prince Sedmorasky.

The evacuation of the position of Ortelsburg is important, and confirms the report of a general retreat of the enemy: for this post turned the left of the Russians and interfered with the communications between General Beningsen's and General Essen's corps.

No official report has been sent since the day before yesterday from General Platow; but we know that he has made a great many prisoners beyond Liebstadt, by a person who passed them on the road. General Beningsen has also received the pleasing intelligence that every soldier in Livonia is ordered to march to his army, and that in three weeks the whole of the divisions will be completed with trained soldiers.

A Prussian who had some conversation at Preussisch Eylau with Buonaparte's favourite Mameluke, amused us much yesterday with the Mameluke's idea of the Russians. He described them as so many huge oxen, who were only to be passed when their heads were knocked in. He said that Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, appeared to him but as so many skirmishes compared with this battle.

The object of General Bertrand's mission is now ascertained. He wished to make a separate peace in the first instance with Russia, and offered her the

restitution of all conquests as far as the Elbe; and when this was rejected *in toto*, he signified that Buonaparte would, from regard to the king, perhaps reinstate him in full possession. What impression he privately made I do not know: publicly the proposal was refused, and no peace but a general peace is ever to be negotiated. Yet I suspect that Prussia does not in this instance act as she wishes, and I have conjectures the communication of which I dare not hazard.

If the king should save Buonaparte from his present imminent perils he is the worst enemy Europe ever had. General Bertrand requested to see the queen. This application was at the first refused, but at the last conceded. She received him with a mien that even confounded his faculties of speech. Recovering his utterance, however, he humbly represented that he was charged by the emperor to assure her majesty of his regret for those publications which had appeared, and the offences which had wounded her feelings; that no person was more sensible of her virtues and exalted qualities than the emperor; who hoped shortly in Berlin to have an opportunity of proving how sincerely he lamented the calumnies, and of gaining her esteem in future!

February 25, Landsberg.

I was prevailed upon yesterday to make one of a party with Kit, the Prince of Wurtemberg, Colonel Sabine, and two aides-de-camp of General Beningsen, to revisit Preussisch Eylau, and join the head-quarters this day at Landsberg. I had been unwilling to accept these propositions, as I foresaw that we should derive more pain than pleasure from it. Informa-

tion as to the ground I did not want after having spent so many hours in inspection, and after so many traverses as I had made: nevertheless, their society tempted me so far as to induce me to set out on horseback to ride twenty-five miles in dreadful weather while they went in their two carriages. I preceded them by the post fifteen miles, and at Muhlhausen found their horses which they had sent forward in order that they might be fresh, as from Königsberg so far they could use post-horses. Hitherto I had not seen a peasant's cottage with a roof or an entire side, nor one inhabitant of any description: all was ruin and devastation.

At Muhlhausen I would have gone into a room that was at the extremity of the stable; but the tenants were the dying and the dead, who having been wounded in the battle met here a fate which would have been merciful if it had been anticipated on that day. My Cossacks at last discovered that there was a solitary room in the pastor's house that was free from such incumbrances. On my entering I was startled and surprised to see a ladylike and rather pretty woman much embarrassed at my visit, and we were both confused until I was followed by General Sulmorow, whom I knew, and who introduced me to his wife.

The general, who commands one of the divisions of this army, had himself lately come from Kamschatka, and therefore such savage scenes were familiar to him. But that he should suffer his wife, a woman whose manners were refined, to see and be a partaker in such misery is, to my sense and feeling, utterly unaccountable. However, thanks to her housewifery, my

chilled frame was soon warmed by several cups of good tea. Two hours afterwards the companions of my journey arrived. The night was so dark and the snow fell so heavily that I counselled to remain until the morning; but Hutchinson's impatience urged immediate progress, and we again proceeded on our way. I now kept near the carriages, having a prescience of misfortune, and after many perilous escapes in the course of two miles, I at length triumphed in the complete upsetting of one carriage in which were Hutchinson and his two aides-de-camp: happily no injury was sustained. Having raised the carriage we continued our journey, but with most imminent risk, and with repeated stops from the fears of the passengers as well as from the accidents that really occurred to impede us; for the road was indescribably bad, the coachmen most ignorant, and the horses timid as well as weary.

When within two miles of Preussisch Eylau, both carriages came to a stand-still in a deep hole from the ice giving way, so I resolved to terminate this miserable morning as quickly as possible; I therefore deserted my self-willed friends in their distress, for I could not in any way help them. My horse frequently started as I approached the town at the wrecks of this part of the field of battle; but when John Sobieski snorted with evident displeasure I looked particularly for the object of his disgust, and soon had the same occasion to blast from my nostrils the offensive atmosphere tainted by the putrefaction of a pile of at least thirty naked bodies.

Notwithstanding the slippery path, I galloped forward and entered Preussisch Eylau which seemed no

longer a habitable town, for the rising moon glared upon the wretchedness that had overwhelmed the whole place as one dismal ruin.

The prince had sent on to have quarters prepared. I found them, and as I entered the door methought I was in the cave of corruption. I rushed up stairs, and there the prince's servant had been engaged two hours in cleansing for us an apartment from every kind of filth. He told me that below were fifty wounded Russians and French, with several dead lying among the straw. The steam even in the room where I then was made me almost sick. In about an hour the prince, &c., came in. We made a supper of the meats we brought with us: and I was going to lie down on my bear-skin, when an upright case attracted my curiosity; and opening it, I was for the moment staggered at the sight of a skeleton. This had been, as I was afterwards informed, a surgeon's house; and of course this was his study: at the foot of the case was lying a large cannon-ball, which had passed through the ceiling and respected a monument of the vanity of human life.

We slept very soundly until seven o'clock in the morning, when we rose and made a good military breakfast. We then walked through the town and saw the effects of our bombardment and the more woful traces of a nine days' plunder; for although Buonaparte was in the town at that time, he never attempted to restrain the licentiousness of his soldiery. We went to the house in which he lodged, and to which after the battle he returned to mourn over his change of fortune.

We learnt some very interesting particulars from

the master of the house : one fact I cannot account for, even on the ground of apprehension. During the battle he four times changed his clothes, and never put on any habit that gave him the appearance even of a general officer.

Is he afraid of the enemy's discovering him, or of the observation of his own men ?

When he went out his marshals preceded him, and he followed with his favourite Mameluke, and then his guards closed the train.

After the battle he was very thoughtful, and the Mameluke told the master of the house that " Buonaparte had never such an enemy as the Russians before ;" that they were " like oxen," as I have already stated, and that " the emperor was very unhappy."

Four generals were buried in the church of Preussisch Eylau, and one officer with great secrecy. No one could discover who he was, except those who had the conduct of the funeral ; as the Mameluke pretended. We went to the church where Buonaparte first stood, but from which he was soon driven by the cannonballs. Around this part were many dead horses, and Prince Murat's was particularly shown to us.

We then mounted our horses and rode completely round the two fields of battle ; still covered with dead, although the French were eight days employed in burying their own, and five hundred peasants have been sent from Königsberg to work for the last five days at the general interment. Several weeks must elapse before the surface of the earth is relieved from this horrible load, which also threatens so much calamity to the living. Indeed I cannot imagine how

Preussisch Eylau can escape a pestilence. In every house there are now dying and dead. Corpses are even strewing the streets, and when the temperature becomes warmer the atmosphere must be charged with putrid exhalations.

After having ridden round the position of both armies, and confirmed our opinions as to those things which were done and ought not to have been done, we gladly quitted a ground which appeared now only as a revolting spectacle to the senses: but where, a few days before, when clothed with the array and pomp of war, was presented one of the sublimest scenes that the imagination can conceive of the grand and terrible, and which will continue to retain an interest to the remotest ages.

The blast was so bitter, and the snow fell so heavily, that I reached Preussisch Eylau almost frozen, and determined to seek shelter from the weather as far as Landsberg in Colonel Sabine's waggon, where I tucked myself in among all kinds of packages and utensils.

Before our departure Kit discovered in a room adjoining ours a wretched family almost famished. They had not eaten bread for several days. We gave them provisions and two guineas; but they were too faint even to thank us, and the mother of two beautiful children could but point at them and a very aged father with a smile of benediction. We had the melancholy assurance that ours was but a very partial relief, for in every house the same features of woe were presented: in many the inhabitants had not even clothing; for the hungry and freezing soldier, whose wounds had not altogether disabled him,

wrested from them everything that could minister to his own covering and nutriment.

We proceeded on our journey full of unmilitary reflections, and I was in a reverie of the sentimental, when the preceding carriages turned round and as they passed hailed my carman to do the same, as he had gone on the wrong road. Even in England this would have been a provoking circumstance; but to repass so much of a way that was almost impracticable was too vexatious for my philosophy, and too irritating to allow longer indulgence in my philanthropic contemplations. We, however, found the right road: but the jolting and the hazard we momentarily experienced determined all, with one accord and yet without any consultation, to brave the elements on horseback. We mounted therefore; but the pole of the Prince of Wurtemberg's carriage broke before he got out: this proved to us afterwards a serious inconvenience, as the main store of provisions was in his carriage and it is not yet arrived.

Although we had removed from the field of battle of Preussisch Eylau, we had by no means escaped from the disgusting spectacle of unburied human remains.

We now passed the ground which our gallant rear-guard had so well disputed and which, for seventy miles, has made this part of Prussia one uninterrupted cemetery. About three miles on our road we came to the spot where the regiments of Moscow had, on the evening of the 7th, cut down to a man a column of three battalions. Not a corpse had been interred, and from the attitudes in which they had fallen an accurate character was to be drawn of the conduct of each individual as he resisted or fled from the sword

of the Russians. A little hill promised safety to some of the fugitives: they scrambled to gain the summit: two guns, charged to the muzzle with grape, played with unerring direction upon them, and literally cased the sides with dead; but their outstretched hands still exemplify their eagerness and hopes.

The road was covered with French waggons of ammunition and of bread, and with other carriages which had been left in their retreat. Among these vehicles we saw the remains of four barouches which probably belonged to some of the French generals, for Buonaparte himself has not one with him. His equipage is carried on mules; and his stud of saddle-horses that always moves with him amounts to one hundred and eighty. Prince Murat has adopted the same plan, but yields to the emperor a superiority of forty.

We reached Landsberg about two o'clock, and found that General Beningsen had changed his intention and was not to move here until to-morrow; and this in consequence of some letter he had received: but as the distance to Kreutzberg was twenty miles, we could not go to him, and therefore we remained here. Nothing was to be had in the town. The French had plundered the unfortunate inhabitants to their last potato and rag; but in our carriage we found some bread, a bottle of wine, and at last the burgomaster presented us with a dish of potatoes that he had just procured, and this satisfied our hunger.

The misery of Preussisch Eylau is not more real or more evident than that of this unfortunate town, and hitherto no supplies have reached them from Königsberg. The French left here four hundred and fifty of their own wounded, and one hundred and fifty Russians,

under the care of two surgeons without instruments, without any means of dressing the wounded, and without provisions; so that when we arrived, we found them all starving without any attendance, and dead bodies in every house. That which rendered the situation of the living more piteous was, that the Cossacks had stripped them of all their linen.

Some minds rise above all human misfortunes. In a wretched chamber, full of wounded officers, lay in a corner a French captain who had lost his leg. His countenance, although pallid, still retained the expression of animation; and the vivacity of his spirit was not subdued by pain, want, or the prospect around and before him. He remarked as a philosopher, jested as a wit, and was polite as a courtier. His courage was the admiration and support of his companions as they assured us, his spirits their consolation and delight. After variety of conversation he told us that a morsel of bread and a glass of wine would save his life; but the surgeon, who was standing by, answered, "*Vous ne recouvrez jamais, mon ami. Vous avez trop de cœur.*" This brave man, who, even in a sick chamber has made most painful sacrifices in order not to incommode his comrades, was struck by a cannon-shot in the battle of Preussisch Eylau, and borne off the field by two men of his company. When he was put into the waggon he ordered the men to return to their post, and was brought here before he was dressed. When the surgeon came, he himself with a pair of scissors cut off the leg that still was connected by some flesh, and remarked, "Now this embarrassment is removed see, my friend,

whether what remains merits your care or only wants your attention." Throughout the whole of the time he had been here, not one expression of regret has escaped him on his own account; but he lamented the disaster that has befallen the French army and insists that the loss of men exceeds twenty-five thousand. Indeed, from the reports made by the burgo-master of this place, of Heilsberg, and of Güttsstadt, that calculation is verified; but I have hitherto feared to state such an enormous and almost unparalleled destruction.

In this town alone there were above eleven thousand wounded, amongst whom were many French generals. One of them, a General Desjardins, died in the house where our head-quarters are.

The inhabitants of Landsberg were acquainted with the loss of the battle on the same night in which it was fought; for the French baggage, heavy cannon, and equipages, with troops, passed through the town in retreat but were stopped the next day as we relinquished the ground. Many, hereafter, when acquainted with these circumstances, will condemn General Beningsen's movement: but he acted prudently, if not with daring; and although the glitter of victory would have been rendered more brilliant by an immediate pursuit, I am not convinced that much greater benefits would have resulted to Europe, or that the measure was warrantable under all circumstances. Our error consisted in not leaving a corps on the ground: and it was our misfortune that the Cossacks had not arrived to take advantage of the complete discomfiture of the enemy, when Buonaparte himself might have been their prize.

After dinner, as we had a quarter assigned to us we went to it: and here I am writing in a miserable room almost as offensive as that of Preussisch Eylau. We are now truly suffering the miseries of war. Winter campaigns were never surely a warrior's desire; for the physique of the man is deteriorated, and the passion for glory chilled, by the aspect of disease, penury, and barren wastes.

During the night, and again this morning, I awoke with excruciating headache; proceeding, as I thought, from tainted air. While I was dressing, Hutchinson's servant opened a box in the adjoining room and discovered a dead child. I am afraid that whoever reads these memoranda will suppose that I am writing fables and a romance replete with the horrible. But too truly these are nauseating facts: and I am now living surrounded with every painful feature of distress and suffering that can disgust or shock the eye and heart.

I got out of the house as soon as I could, and came to head-quarters to breakfast on what remains of our provisions.

An account is just brought us that our advanced guard is engaged near Güttschadt. The general is not yet come.

Feb. 27.—The general arrived about three o'clock, but the roads were in such a dreadful state that we did not benefit by his provision until nine at night.

On the day before yesterday General Platow took one hundred and fifty prisoners and a piece of cannon; and yesterday's report brought us news of two hundred and eighty more prisoners and three pieces of cannon being taken by these active Cossacks. The affair near

Güttstadt was not so favourable, as it was attended by the disgrace of a surprise.

General Korf, with a regiment of chasseurs, occupied the village of Peterswalde in such confidence that he neglected his pickets, and took quarters for himself in the entrance of the village nearest to the enemy. A corps of four thousand French were still at Güttstadt. During the night, perhaps from information of this negligence, a strong patrol pushed to the quarters of General Korf, and made him, with twenty chasseurs, prisoners. The remainder of the regiment had time to form and immediately to attack the patrol, who, however, retired with their first prize. General Beningsen, very properly, is determined to proceed against General Korf; for a greater military fault cannot be committed: and I presume that when liberated he will suffer a severe censure. He had only arrived from S. Petersburg three days.

The corps that has rested at Güttstadt will probably be made prisoners, for they are nearly surrounded, and if they do escape, must leave all their waggons and cannon behind.

This morning a courier and immediately afterwards Bischerdorff arrived from S. Petersburg. The general has received the order of St. Andrew, and an annual pension of twelve thousand roubles. The whole of the army is to have a gratuity of one-third of a year's pay and allowances. The decorations await the official relation, which is to be sent from hence to-morrow. If time can make such a detail perfect this one ought to be so.

We received by these couriers news of Russia's having declared war against the Turks, of the com-

mencement of the siege of Ismail, of some successes against the French in Dalmatia and in the Adriatic, and what is more essential to us, of the fact that the half of the guards have already left S. Petersburg to join this army, and that soldiers and stores are pressing forward in all directions.

The absolute want of provisions, from the state of the roads, obliged us to remain here this day; and will probably compel us to change our direction more to the right, as, in that case, we gain a country which has not been so thoroughly ravaged.

The emperor has strongly animadverted on the ravages committed by the Russians, and makes General Beningsen responsible for all future irregularities. I have not yet learnt whether the resignation he sent in from Königsberg has been accepted, but I presume not.

Feb. 28.—Yesterday we received the unpleasant intelligence that General Pleiss, with three thousand Prussians, was attacked near Braunsberg by the French rear-guard of Bernadotte's column, and driven, with the loss of several men and eight pieces of cannon, back upon Heiligenbeil. General Lestocq has, however, orders to advance against this corps, and more troops are directed against Preussisch Holland; so that the enemy must fly precipitately or be surrounded. The affair is disreputable to the Prussians, but not detrimental to the general operations. The enemy's corps that was at Guttstadt retired during this night, as Prince Sedmorasky had gained Seeburg and was this morning to pass between the enemy and Allenstein.

The French find their retreat so impeded by the

badness of the roads and by want of provisions, that they are obliged to hazard much for the preservation of the main army ; as four columns are directed upon Thorn, and their right column upon Warsaw. I suspect, by their long retention of Elbing, that they fear our passing the Vistula before them in that neighbourhood.

A prisoner was brought in yesterday, whose countenance and manner were so much above the ordinary appearance of a common soldier that I could not forbear asking him the place of his nativity and the rank of his parents. He answered, that he came from Toulouse, that his name was Montgalliard, and that his father was formerly seigneur of the estate and village which bore that appellation. The general had been some time disputing with the unfortunate fellow as to the superiority of the Russians over the French, which I thought was controverted with becoming dignity without insolence ; but when he styled himself what the Russians called a count, there was a general uproar and indignation against him for serving Buonaparte. He was menaced with death : and an officious colonel who had that day come from S. Petersburg, to show his zeal, dragged him out of the room ; and with cowardly severity executed the hasty order of the general to have him bound hand and foot. The general afterwards recovered his temper and his sense, and Montgalliard was released.

Why commence an argument with a prisoner, and when he manfully defends his country from aspersion, abuse power by unjust punishment ? If I had been the prisoner I should have felt honoured instead of disgraced by the cords that bound me, and have

gloried in having humiliated the conqueror of Preussisch Eylau. As for the colonel, if I see him in action I shall request him to go and find an enemy with arms in his hands, and tell him that then he will merit more esteem than I can now accord him.

There is a surprising contradiction in General Beningsen's character, but I believe most heroes are very imperfect when closely inspected. If there were not weaknesses in their conduct they would be more than human.

Montgalliard may be a *vaut rien*, but I never saw a finer countenance or an eye more illuminated with vivacity and intelligence. His expressions also were truly eloquent; and his undauntedness when threatened with loss of life confirmed his pretension to nobility. He seems not more than twenty-four years of age, and he entered the army at thirteen. I saw him this morning paraded with a crowd of fellow-prisoners. A Russian officer tauntingly said as he passed. "Ah! there is the count!" The answer was a look of disdain that expressed more strongly than words, "Coward and barbarian."

I hate the savage atrocities and wicked ambition of the French, and it is almost a pain when a Frenchman compels my admiration. Nevertheless if I could I would do Montgalliard a sly service, and perhaps it may be in my power; but the case requires delicate management.

The young Count Woronzow arrived this day. I understand that he is a very amiable young man; and I have a proof of his estimation in the universal pleasure which the intelligence of his recovery and appearance here has diffused. I expect him in a few minutes. I

owe to his father much obligation for his very kind and flattering recollections of me.

The head-quarters to-morrow will be at Heilsberg, where we shall not be incommoded by the dreadful effluvia that here encumber the atmosphere and choke the habitations; and when we move further we shall keep in a line clear of these poisonous nuisances. If the enemy cross the Vistula, I presume that we shall make no serious movement until our reinforcements are come up, or, at least, an efficient part of them. A fortnight's repose will be very salutary to the troops; and if they get in that time boots and clothing, all will smile in unison with the opening spring.

February 28, Evening.

I have seen Count Woronzow. His manners are prepossessing, more than his countenance, or rather his face. Perhaps the recollection of his father's features and dignity of bearing prejudices against the son; who, however, is very affable and intelligent, and is generally beloved, so he must have all possible good qualities. He was present at the late affair of the 14th inst. at Ostrolenka. He relates that the Russians stormed the intrenchments, and killed General Campaigna and eight hundred grenadiers in them; and that afterwards they directed a very destructive cannonade for many hours against the corps of General Lannes and Oudinot's division, which formed in aid on the skirts of the town. The loss of the Russians altogether was a thousand men. Three days afterwards the enemy abandoned the town and the environs, in consequence of an order which moved them to the grand army. After the battle of Preussisch Eylau, General Essen

obtained intelligence that all the sick and convalescent that were left at Warsaw had received a route for the passage of the Oder, and that General Dombrowsky was commanded not to raise any more levies in Poland. In consequence of this General Essen has detached Prince Kouriskow with a division to join Prince Sedmorasky; and these corps were to unite this day under the command of General Tolstoy at Bischoffsburg.

The intention of the enemy to retire beyond the Vistula is no longer questionable: but, unfortunately, the corps which beat the Prussian detachment at Braunsberg has again retreated; so that, unless the Prussians are more than ordinarily active, Bernadotte with his column will escape from Elbing.

I am not presumptuous when I wish that the command of the advanced guard was under my control. The provoking negligence, the apprehensions, and ignorance of the enemy's character are so egregious that a military man who aspires to excel those who have the immediate conduct of the light troop service may still be humble. Perhaps Europe is fortunate in the fact that the Russians have not intelligence equal to their courage.

I omitted to mention in my statement quoted from Count Woronzow that the French troops, particularly the Italian and German auxiliaries, desert through Gallicia at the average of seven hundred a week.

March 2, Heilsberg.

Count Woronzow came to me on the 28th, and with Bischerdorff drank tea in our cottage. The more I saw of the count the more I had reason to be

pleased with him; and I lamented the rough sketch I had made in a preceding page, for I found that the removal of a several days' beard and the arrangements even of a military toilette, had given him a most favourable appearance instead of an uncourtly one.

The next morning, Novosilzow, the Russian minister, arrived to appease those dissensions which menace the interests and compromise the glory of the army; but I have to regret the removal of General Knoring, which has been thought necessary, as the loss of a very good friend and an officer of very considerable information. Nor do I conceive that such a master can be supplied from the Russian establishment of officers.

We removed to Heilsberg about ten o'clock, and gladly left the pestiferous air of Landsberg: but the road to this place was literally strewn with the dead, and our horses momentarily scattered the remains encrusted by the frost and fixed in the soil. As the day was very cold, I galloped on, and arrived long before the head-quarters; but at the entrance of this town the ruins of fifty-six burnt barns and houses shewed that we had not escaped from the line of the ravages. Nevertheless, in every respect Heilsberg is preferable to Landsberg, and is not so completely a charnel dépôt. We also find here something to eat. The French behaved very ill to the inhabitants and particularly to the women, notwithstanding that every attention had been paid to several hundred of their wounded officers and four thousand wounded soldiers who passed through the place. There is little difference of computation as to the number of

killed and wounded in the battle of Preussisch Eylau among the French. Here they confessed that their loss was at least between twenty-five thousand and thirty thousand men; and even General Colbert stated the same to a French officer in presence of a German who understood his language. In this town three generals were buried.

The road was so bad that we did not dine before eight o'clock. Afterwards Bischerdorff and Woronzow, who were on their way to General Tolstoy, came and shared our quarters. They are both most excellent persons, and I sincerely hope that we shall be much together. The former gave me a hint which, if its accuracy is verified, will be very satisfactory.

We received reports from Lestocq and Tolstoy. The former was at Pleswic, and the French had broken down the bridge before him at Braunsberg as if they meant to defend the passage of the river. The latter was at Bischoffsburg and Wurtemberg, and stated the enemy to be at Allenstein, Osterode, and Hohenstein; but begged permission to move against them. We also received advice that the French had already sent a great part of their artillery over the bridge at Thorn.

I wish that I could add any plan of our own movements: but I have already said often that courage is the rich gem of this army, and as often I have expressed my desire that I had for a few days the direction of our operations.

Buonaparte's unskilful conduct against the Russians since the passage of the Vistula, and what I see revolving in our councils, inspires me with confidence. Indeed there is no officer in this army who has seen

so much service against the French as I have seen : I therefore know their stratagems better than others, nor could be alarmed and deceived by every petty enterprise. Fifty men put the whole Russian forces under arms, and from the most trifling circumstances the most contradictory conclusions are daily drawn : so the French gain time and repose. As I cannot be a Russian general, I have become a French poet, and I herewith send a specimen :—

Le rat dans un coin devenait un méchant .
 Mais s'enfuir, il faut que le chat y consent.
 Si Napoléon s'échappe, il aura le bonheur
 Même vaincu d'inspirer la crainte au vainqueur.

March 2, Afternoon.

Since dinner I have had confidential advice that General Beningsen resolves to attack the corps of Bernadotte and the division of Lefebvre in the district of Elbing. The advanced guard marches this night through Liebstadt to Preussisch Holland, and two divisions are ordered to reinforce General Lestocq. General Platow has sent in fifty-eight prisoners taken yesterday ; and we have a correct disposition of the French army. On the Vistula are Bernadotte and Lefebvre, ten thousand strong : Marshal Ney is at Allenstein : Davoust at Hohenstein : and the main army forms at Osterode until the cannon and equipages, with what magazines remain, pass the Vistula ; when the whole fall back upon Thorn, and there Buonaparte hopes to make peace. He will do it unless Russia will consent to take English subsidies ; for she cannot continue the war with her own resources. This too is General Beningsen's opinion, who is much alarmed at the mistaken *amour propre*

of the emperor. False pride is an agent that may ruin the splendid hopes which England has a right to entertain: but I consider that Austria, Russia, and England should put themselves in the position of three great capitalists, who to retain their equality should proportion their contributions and equip from their several possessions one great enterprise. On this subject I have had some very serious conversation, and am going to work against the return of Novosilzow who is for this day on a visit to Tolstoy. I would rather lose two limbs than that peace should be signed with France on this side the Rhine.

Marshal Augereau is said to be dead of his wounds.

March 3.—The enemy has this day made a strong reconnoissance to our front. Allenstein, which was retaken when one hundred Russian prisoners were recovered and some French taken, was reoccupied by the enemy. Güttstadt has also been entered and a considerable corps attacked between Hermsdorf and Arensdorf: but many men were lost as they attempted in vain to carry a battery which poured grape on them until those who remained fled. Many expect a general action to-morrow. I am certain that this is a feint to cover a retreat.

March 5.—In consequence of the movements of the enemy on the 2nd the army was ordered to concentrate by forced marches in this neighbourhood, and the head-quarters passed a very anxious night. Day dawned, and every one was surprised that no firing was heard: but at eight o'clock a heavy cannonade commenced in front of the town at six miles distance. All felt assured that a general action was com-

mencing except myself: who, perhaps from an obstinacy of character rather than from judgment, persevered in my belief that the enemy would not attempt any serious offensive operations; notwithstanding that I must admit that the greatest encouragement has been given to their enterprise. I had, however, great inquietude; being aware that the general was resolved, if seriously attacked, to pass behind the Aller and withdraw, under the fire of the enemy, near thirty thousand men over a small bridge at the extremity of the town. I anticipated another 18th of May, and was convinced that this intention was the most fatal that could have been entertained. As the cannonade increased and the general remained in his room receiving contradictory reports, I determined to go forward and examine with my own eyes the force and the movements of the enemy. Kit somewhat reluctantly accompanied me, but confessed afterwards that he was rewarded for the trouble and loss of dinner. We found the Russian force extremely well posted, crowning successive heights which extended from the village of Sirchen, occupied by the enemy, to within four miles of Heilsberg.

The French, when we arrived, had passed across an open space from the heights above the village to a deep wood, from which they annoyed the advanced guard of the Russians. On the heights they had a battery, and this was answered by a superior battery of the Russians on corresponding heights which dismounted their guns eventually. The cannonade and the rattling of the musketry in the woods, with the lines of tirailleurs in the open interval, formed a beautiful scene; and the day happened to be remark-

ably fine. At last General Sacken, to terminate this fire of musketry which wasted ammunition, ordered three regiments of Russians to charge into the wood, and two regiments of Cossacks to support them. The Cossacks, however, under the immediate command of their hetman, rushed forward with a war yell that was barbarously grand, and in a few minutes cleared the wood and the open space. The French lost, in killed and prisoners, near one hundred men in this attack. The Cossacks had ten killed and several wounded. The reserve of the enemy that remained on the heights broke and dispersed as *tirailleurs* along the ridge, from which they fired till night fell.

The prisoners assured us that the army was in retreat from Thorn; and that they belonged to a brigade of three regiments of infantry with a feeble regiment of cavalry, under the command of General La Basse who covered the retreat of Marshal Ney's corps which was the rear-guard of the army. The fact will prove consonant with their statement, and with my opinion from which I never for a moment deviated: but it is lamentable to think that a Russian army should be left to fortune and its own courage; or rather, that ignorance should make embarrassments which the favour of fortune and the greatest exertions of courage must clear: and I am out of all patience when I see Buonaparte relieve himself by ordinary means from the most perilous difficulties.

If he had enterprise equal to his present force he would have robbed the Russians yesterday of Königsberg—the pride of their victory at Preussisch Eylau. Even with a corps of ten thousand men he might have done it: for the general had determined to

retire behind the Aller, and abandon Königsberg, if the enemy had advanced to occupy that town in force. *Ten thousand men* would have been magnified into *fifty thousand* at least! The god of Russia, to whom the Russians have a passion for ascribing all their achievements, has not been negligent on this occasion. He has taken into his protection General Lestocq, and his corps of fifteen thousand men left near Braunsberg without a regiment to support them in the distance of sixty miles, with twenty-four thousand men immediately opposed to them.

During the day the Prussian Colonel Kleist arrived from Buonaparte, whom he left at Osterode. Buonaparte, he stated, wished much for an armistice, and strongly expressed, even to petulance, his surprise that General Beningsen refused one. The plea was humanity. Sweet babe of innocence!

He claimed the victory of Preussisch Eylau because the Russians left the field: but Marshal Davoust told Colonel Kleist, "We lost the battle because of such sad faults." Buonaparte said that this was the severest action he had ever been in, and added, "*Messieurs vos alliés se battent bien; il est difficile d'avoir une affaire avec eux.*" And afterwards he said several times, "*Je souhaite la paix. La paix est nécessaire pour le monde.*" Colonel Kleist stated that the French chief officers, as well as all other ranks in the army, spoke loudly of the necessity of retiring upon the Vistula; and in a manner that almost declared an intention of going there with or without the emperor's sanction.

The Prince of Wurtemberg, Woronzow, and Sabine, came and drank coffee with us; and I found

that my expedition gave me a great inclination to sleep, not only from fatigue but conscious security.

This morning accounts are received that the enemy are retiring towards Thorn. Hurrah ! Their pleasure is very convenient to us who, now that our army is together, did not know what plan to adopt. I really think we shall soon march by lots drawn out of three boxes, marked right—centre—left. Novosilzow the minister, who is a very agreeable man, is just gone back to S. Petersburg. He came to arrange dissensions. I hope he may have succeeded and will return to make greater improvements.

Two regiments of Cossacks are at last sent to Dantzic ; where a small corps of Bavarians and some insurgents are beating every detachment sent against them, and where ten thousand Prussians are trembling for their safety behind the ramparts.

The English consul Drussini and Mr. Griffin came from Memel during the night before last to pay us a visit. The report of a battle on the ensuing morning precipitated their return before daybreak.

The countenances of the inhabitants of this town, who began to fear the fate of Preussisch Eylau, have this morning brightened. A singular circumstance occurred yesterday during the affair. An ammunition waggon full of cartouches, was blown up by an enemy's shell : the horses were drawing it, but neither the horses nor the driver were the least injured.

March 7.—Yesterday morning the Russians and the French, mutually expecting an attack, drew out their lines. I rode with Count Tolstoy to his advanced guard, when we found that the alarm was groundless : but I had the pleasure of seeing two new divisions of

troops that excelled pre-eminently in military appearance, and a regiment of cuirassiers “y Catherina Stabler” that may be pronounced to be one of the first regiments of cavalry in the world.

The new reinforcements of Cossacks were also drawn out, and their sumptuous wildness presented a scene that was truly novel and interesting. The day was so cold that I hastened back to avoid crystallization; however, my nose suffered, and now burns with an indignant flush that mortifies me excessively.

In the evening a French courier, the adjutant of Marshal Ney, was taken at Osterode with a letter to the emperor: in which the marshal states that, “in consequence of the affair on the 4th which lost him between three and four thousand men from the superior fire of the Russians, he had retired from the village of Sirchen; but that he should wait instructions in front of Güttsadt, which might order him to retreat altogether or assure him of reinforcements.”

The general had determined to cut off the corps of Marshal Ney by an attack this morning; but unluckily his opinion changed during the night, and he has this morning moved his head-quarters to Bartenstein. I remain here with Count Tolstoy in the hopes of some affair. Woronzow, who is one of the best fellows I ever met, also stays.

Two officers and sixty-four men were brought in prisoners this afternoon. They were taken near Peterswalde by the Cossacks.

General Lestocq is this day at Mehlsack. He flanked the French column which retired from Braunschweig in a very able manner, and is really a most meri-

torious officer: but unfortunately he has Prussians to command and therefore can never effect any brilliant service. The contempt that the enemy and the allies entertain for the Prussians is scarcely credible; and these unhappy degenerates every day give cause for reproach and scorn by their feebleness and cowardice.

Several Poles deserted yesterday to the Russians. Since Buonaparte offered the restitution of his conquests to the King of Prussia the greatest suspicion and distrust prevails between the French and the insurgents, who must be compromised by such a treaty.

We have received advices this day that the enemy have constructed two bridges; one over the Vistula at Mewe, and the other over the Nogat at Marienburg, to secure their passage; but I trust that an Austrian and English army will prevent still the retreat of the French to the Rhine.

March 8.—Two Prussian civil officers came yesterday from Güttstadt. Their report makes us anxious to cut off Ney's corps, which is undoubtedly practicable. General Tolstoy has sent to press the general for permission. The corps must retire from want of provisions in a day or two, so no time must be lost. Such a blow would retrieve the mischief of our inactivity.

We obtained the bulletins from Warsaw, giving General Berthier's narrative of the operations of the French army from the 1st of February: such a tissue of falsehoods and contradictions rather exceeds the ordinary fabrications of this nation without truth or honour. In one a column of twenty thousand Russians is stated to have been cut off, six thousand

prisoners already made, and all the officers taken with a considerable number of the guns of the enemy. Talleyrand is desired to forward this good news to the empress. The battle of the 8th is described as having been most murderous; and doubtful till night, when a charge of the guards—I suppose the ghosts of those that were slain—discomfited the Russians: who, however, remained on the field and then retired with a *second* loss of all their baggage (how charming to have such reserves of baggage in a winter campaign!) to Gumbinnen on the road to Russia; and that Königsberg was to have the honour of receiving Buonaparte the next day.

General Bertrand told one of the Prussian generals that the emperor would not, from respect to the king, enter the town of Königsberg. What a contempt the French must entertain for a Prussian general's intellect!

March 9.—No particular event has occurred, but the French yesterday sent General Bertrand to the advanced posts with a flag of truce, and he demanded that he might meet a Russian general; but as one did not arrive at the time he expected this was sufficient, and he went away. When the Russian general arrived the French colonel who had remained made many apologies, and requested that a truce and place of rendezvous might be appointed. This was declined.

From the pacific and philanthropic speeches of these officers, there is little doubt of General Bertrand's mission being again on the subject of an armistice; but General Platow has sent to request that General Beningsen will allow him to urge the most active war.

fare against their posts with the Cossacks. We received advice from Ortelsburg that the Cossacks had made two hundred prisoners in that neighbourhood, and near Allenstein. By mistake two Russian quartermasters and twenty men went to take up quarters for two Russian divisions. While this party were carousing a French patrol entered and made the whole prisoners: but a Cossack patrol arriving a quarter of an hour afterwards, pursued, and not only recovered all the Russians but killed several of the French and sent in here half a dozen prisoners.

If the general, Beningsen, would but allow the Cossacks to act as they are disposed, and send aid with a few light troops, the whole army might rest in cantonments and we might still slumber at ease; whereas the French would be hourly alarmed and frequently injured. The complaints are loud and just against our present shameful relaxation.

The party with whom we are now living consists of Generals Tolstoy, Osterman, Kratow, and our good friend Woronzow, with several of the staff. So we are rich in society, independently of occasional guests; but my volcano nose has been making me very uneasy and unsociable. I am happy to say that it is now regaining shape. I once thought to have rivalled Innes or Sontag in nasal horrors.

The Russian habit of kissing each other as a salute of friendship is common to other continental nations: that foreigners also are more familiar with their servants than English manners admit, is universally known: but this morning the extent of their habits surprised me in the instance of General Kratow, who is for a Russian a remarkably prim, cleanly, and well-

bred man. Seeing the servant of Bischerdorff arrive after an absence of some weeks he went up to him and kissed with affection both cheeks, and this in my presence.

March 9.—During the night I received a letter from Lord Douglas, which I have been answering this evening; but my instructions painfully oppose those communications which I would give in my anxiety for the general interests of the enemies of France.

During the day we received accounts that General Massena had occupied the country round Pultusk and Willenburg with twenty-four thousand Poles—more probably twelve thousand; and some prisoners brought in assured us that Marshal Soult's corps was now moving to the Vistula, and that the other corps were following.

Our listless inactivity continues; but some strong representations made this day respecting the want of food for the cavalry must determine the general to some decisive measure.

Two regiments of Cossacks are at last marched for Dantzic, where the Prussians are trembling for fear of the insurgents.

I rode this evening with Count Tolstoy to see General Sacken, and Prince Galitzin who was unwell.

We read at their quarters the order of Buonaparte when he left Preussisch Eylau: wherein he states that he had “driven the Russians behind the Pregel, captured *sixty-eight pieces of cannon and sixteen standards*, and *killed, wounded, and taken, forty thousand soldiers*. The ramparts of Königsberg alone saved the fugi-

tives." Excellent! I hope General Beningsen will translate this order for the benefit of the Russian army.

March 10, Bartenstein.

After dining we took leave for a few days of our kind friends, and returned, as in duty bound, to headquarters within fifteen miles of Heilsberg. The general being asleep, we went and drank tea with the Prince of Wurtemberg. Afterwards we passed to the general who told us that he had news of the plan of Buonaparte: that he proposed to withdraw his main army to Posen; and leave Massena, with the Bavarians, Wurtembergers, &c. drawn from Silesia, and the Poles, and moreover two corps of French troops, to defend the right bank of the Vistula. Here General Beningsen stated further, that he himself proposed to move forward in a few days against the enemy, as he should receive considerable reinforcements immediately. He also had obtained certain advice that Marshals Lannes and Augereau had received from the Emperor their *congé* to quit the army. The cause is differently stated.

The general's secretary, Prince Gadarvi, yesterday came from Vienna, where the battle of Preussisch Eylau had made a very considerable sensation; but I could not then ascertain the contents of the despatches.

A letter from Eustace certified the capture of Buenos Ayres.* I lamented the fate of my friends and the injury sustained by my country; but I bowed in gratitude to my protecting fortune, and vanity whispered, "Thou hast reasoned well." Ah! my son

* See the history of this ill-advised and unfortunate expedition: "Annual Register," 1806.—ED.

David, I pity you and forgive you all my wrongs. I am very anxious to hear the particulars and am much interested, for I had in that vile expedition many valuable friends. Poor Mrs. Arbuthnot!

Before we left Heilsberg General Platow reported that another officer had come to his outposts requesting an armistice, at least between the advanced guards. This being refused, he solicited permission to bury the dead still lying on the plain where the affair occurred the other day which I have described, and which now forms the neutral ground between the lines of videttes. General Platow replied, that the weather being cold there was no danger from their resting on the surface; and that in a few hours the ground would be occupied by one party or the other who might then charge themselves with the interment: but he warned off in future all such frivolous messengers. The tone of this reply is something unusual to the French ear. "How are the mighty fallen!"

March 11, Two o'clock, P M

The account is this instant received that the French are again in full retreat. They have quitted Sirchen and Peterswalde, also Gütstadt, &c. Platow has overleaped his bounds, "cried havoc! and let slip the dogs of war." The Cossacks are all rushing to retrieve the mischief that their forced inactivity has occasioned, and I hope to join in the chase to-morrow. We shall, as the general assures me, pass a regiment to Dantzic immediately; and the pontoons are ordered up to force the passage in the neighbourhood of Spandau, the day after to-morrow. All is again life and cheerfulness.

The names of the French generals killed and wounded in the battle of Preussisch Eylau I here subjoin:—

<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Corbineau.	Marshal Augereau.
Desjardins.	Suchét, la cuisse cassé.
D'Almage.	D'Espagne.
Gudin.	S. Sulpice.
Hauptpoult.	Picard.
Viot.	Friant.
	Martin.
	Second.

Bartenstein, March 15.

Little did I suspect that I should be here on this day : but the general, imagining that the enemy was making a feint with the intention of falling on his left has altered his dispositions ; and, instead of advancing, we are preparing for battle. General Massena has, it is said, urged the French emperor to persist in his defence of the country on the right bank of the Vistula. If he resolve on this it is certainly the most favourable circumstance that could occur : had he retreated on the line of the Oder with impunity his position would have been seriously strong ; whereas now he is exposed to the operations of every military force that can be brought to bear against him.

Murat, with seven regiments of cavalry, advanced on the 12th to Bischoffsburg : but his intention of marching upon Bischoffstein was anticipated by the despatch of Count Tolstoy to Seeburg with a considerable force of Cossacks and cavalry. General Sacken was withdrawn from Launan to Heilsberg ; but the

advanced posts pushed on, the enemy retiring their left from Wormditt and Schmolin behind the Passarge river, killed a hundred dragoons, and have sent in near a hundred prisoners of whom many are severely wounded. By one of these prisoners we were informed that Buonaparte with his guards was to be at Liebstadt on the 13th. If this is true, we may expect a general action immediately ; but I suspect that the whole story is without foundation and that the movement to our right is only a large foraging party, as the want of provisions for men and horses is excessive in the French cantonments : already some of the regiments in Marshal Ney's corps have proceeded to outrages against their officers near Guttstadt.

If Buonaparte really does propose to attack us again he will certainly do it before our friends come up : and on the 22nd we shall have ten thousand Prussians from their depôt at Wehlau ; in four days, three thousand Russian convalescents from Grodno ; and in eight days, four thousand chasseurs from the same place. The guards, &c., will not be here before the 8th of April ; but the whole country is in activity to expedite them and other corps.

The French have certainly, since the battle of Preussisch Eylau, not received any reinforcements of French troops across the Vistula, except Marshal Lefebvre's division. The Bavarians and Poles may be reckoned as auxiliaries newly arrived indeed, but their power is very insignificant. If great reinforcements are on their way from France, which I much doubt, the prize will be gained by those who first reach the goal.

Demonstrations even now made by England would be highly advantageous to the Russians.

If we should fight before the 21st, I estimate that the Russian force, exclusive of General Essen's twenty-five thousand men behind the Narew, will be thirty-five thousand infantry, fifteen thousand cavalry, and between four and five hundred pieces of artillery in service. In this calculation I do not reckon Lestocq's corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which may be estimated at fourteen thousand strong: but the whole cannot be brought into action, as a detachment must be left at Braunsberg.

The French army is certainly not more than sixty thousand effectives exclusive of auxiliaries: moreover their cavalry is in such a wretched condition that they are almost to be abstracted from the number of effectives: they have not the courage of the British at Agincourt to invigorate their jades in the hour of battle.

I confess that I am an unbeliever in the marvel of offensive operations by the French troops; they do not so soon rally after such a frightful defeat as that of Preussisch Eylau.

The *Moniteur's* bulletin of that action we received yesterday; and the falsehoods it contains proved a great source of amusement after dinner.

How a man in the position of Napoleon Buonaparte could publish the assertion that he drove the Russians behind the Pregel and took ten standards and forty-five pieces of cannon, &c. &c., and that he himself only lost one eagle, does indeed somewhat surprise me; for the enormity of the lie is manifest to all the nations of Europe. If I were the Emperor of Russia

I would surround the staffs of my eagles with these bulletins. There is also a great injustice in sacrificing the character of one regiment when others shared the disgrace: unless the designation was determined by lot. I hope our newspapers will comment well on this subject.

With regard to the snow-storms being the cause of the attacking columns deviating from their direction and thus failing, the fact is that these sheltering occasions were seized by the French to cover their approach, as the wind drove the snow with almost insupportable violence and inconvenience in the faces of the Russians. This made me observe that the elements seemed to be the allies of the enemy; and there was not an officer in the field who did not remark that the French attack would certainly be made in some of those unfriendly showers of assaulting snow.

The admission of so many killed and wounded is more than I expected, but it is not within sixteen thousand of the real number; and I will now submit my head to the block if the French did not have twenty-five thousand *hors de combat* and the Russians fourteen thousand on that day—certainly the most bloody in modern history.

I was satisfied by the perusal of the bulletin that the people of England would discover, without any Russian report, that the enemy had been beaten. The tone of the conquerors of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, has sunk at least a key in this narrative and the conclusion is undoubtedly feeble. Retirement without sacking Königsberg was evident defeat. I moreover hope that the English government, imme-

diately on the receipt of that bulletin, took measures to aid us. A British army now well directed would secure our triumphs and the safety and pre-eminence of Great Britain, and acquire for our arms a character that would perpetuate the affection of the Russians towards her, remove every jealousy of the Continent, and aggrandize her fame more than the attachment of fifty colonies.

The homely citizens of England imagine, in their humility, that their country has no military power of sufficient importance to affect France with permanent depression. But, I ask, what force is now struggling for the empire of the world? *On each side not more than eighty thousand combatants!* and their several efforts can scarcely keep this number complete. If forty thousand British soldiers, with bayonets poised and a step as firm as that of the Russians, marched into the field, would such aid be indifferent? And if our measures were well prepared there would not be a foreign soldier worth having who would not range himself under the banner of England combating for German liberty.

I would, indeed, with the appellation of a German army and the assurance of being able to order pay to the officers and men who should be discharged at the conclusion of the war, engage to raise in six weeks thirty thousand Pomeranian and Hessian instructed soldiers. *This is no wild proposition.*

The Austrians are forcing every effort to raise men although their regiments are already far above their regulated strength, and their magazines are pressing forward into Gallicia. Whether we shall want their aid or not a few days will decide. If

Russia consents to a bold game, we shall have her stake.

Count Tolstoy has just sent to request that I would come to him at Seeburg, twenty-five miles from hence in advance on our left. It snows very heavily, and my nose is still *delicate* when the air is cold; but I must "go a hunting" Frenchmen, in spite of *weather*; and this is really the only thing to apprehend in the chase. Fights with a fire from every quarter do not occur every day.

I do not believe that I ever sent a sketch of the battle of the 8th. I inclose one now, as some of my friends may be amused by it. The great plan for the duke will be sent by the first opportunity. Mine was made immediately after the action—a mere scratch, but sufficient to show our situation and a groundwork for a better artist to work upon.

March 15, Afternoon.

An account has just been received that the enemy have evacuated Bischoffstein and Passenheim, but with the loss of fifty dragoons and some officers. The French cavalry appear to have advanced from the necessity of procuring forage; so they are obliged to harass their horses in order to feed them. The officers assure us that their whole army has been traversing the country without any apparent cause; which is a consolation to the Russians who are experiencing a similar convulsion of movement.

Yesterday several Russian regiments of cavalry marched forty-five English miles and the infantry twenty-five, in most dreadful weather and on the worst roads; but neither climate, fatigue, nor want of

food have yet subdued the spirit of the soldiery who pass along singing in grand choruses.

Twelve pieces of Cossack cannon arrived to-day from Kalisch. Their escort had made a march of three thousand wersts—one werst is three-quarters of an English mile—in fourteen weeks, without the loss of a single man. I never saw guns better appointed or more neatly constructed.

If we had only some of Shrapnell's shot the artillery that we now have would be sufficiently powerful for a hundred thousand men. I wish James would give a hint to Shrapnell on this subject. I verily believe that if at the battle of Preussisch Eylau we had used that murderous invention, twenty thousand more men would have fallen or the enemy would have abandoned their ground in half the time ; for every man on both sides was for sixteen hours within point-blank range.

The Cossacks have orders to intercept the communication between General Massena and Buonaparte at Osterode. They will execute this service well ; and the French have such terror of them still, that, as one of the French officers who was taken at Passenheim said this day—"I was victim to the cowardice of a thousand dragoons, who fled from three hundred Cossacks and left me with my post to their mercy." The whole corps have but one doctor : General Platow was asked by the emperor whether he should attach any more to him ; " God forbid it, and your Majesty !" he exclaimed ; " the fire of the enemy is not half so fatal as a drug."

General Knoring has left us to-day, to our great regret. He quarrelled with General Beningsen on a military question. He wished to keep the field of

battle, and censured the retreat. The army has lost an officer of considerable experience and knowledge, and I am separated from a kind good friend and Mentor. He is the first Russian I kissed: but he was so kind an old man that I could not withdraw from the compliment, any more than I could when Baron Thugut honoured me with a similar salute.

March 17.—Our general yesterday determined to make an attempt to force the enemy over the Passarge in every part of their lines, as their excursions harassed his army so much: he has therefore again advanced all his forces, and the day after to-morrow he will move forward. My opinion is that all the posts will be abandoned on our approach. The Cossacks, four thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry under Count Tolstoy, march from Seeburg as was originally proposed against Allenstein. The main army advances against Güttstadt, and the Prussians upon the line in front of Wormditt.

With convalescents who arrived yesterday, two thousand, the six battalions of chasseurs who join this day, and other parties lately come up, I estimate the Russian force at fifty-five thousand effectives exclusive of General Essen's twenty thousand effectives on the Narew. The Prussians may also now have twenty thousand strong under Lestocq: in a few days they will have fifty thousand recruits.

The French certainly are not more than fifty-five thousand strong exclusive of Massena's auxiliary army which has not yet joined. General Beningsen will not, however, move seriously to attack the enemy until his great reinforcements reach us; and they may be here in three weeks.

We have received advices from Dantzic that the suburbs have been burnt in consequence of the approach of the enemy. I am going after dinner to Count Tolstoy.

Lord Gower and Harvey have, we hear, come to Königsberg. I do not know whether they will pay us a visit. They will be fortunate if they come forward in time to see our reconnoissance on the 19th instant. There is no chance of the affair being one of greater character. Buonaparte would not hazard an engagement in a weak position, where he is not prepared to resist an attack: and when he has it in his power to fall back upon Osterode where he can oblige the Russians either to fight under a disadvantage or to make movements to turn him; in which case he has the choice of battle or retreat. I hope that we shall be enabled to send some Russians immediately to Dantzic. That place is of the greatest importance. An English flotilla in the Baltic might be of the utmost service at this moment, and an active naval officer might acquire much reputation and distinction. I wish my friend Christian had a sloop of war here.

March 19.—In the middle of the night of the 17th, to our great surprise Lord Gower and Harvey entered our room. We were very glad to see them, as may be presumed. We made for them the best arrangements in our power, and the next morning General Beningsen received them with much kindness. They dined with him: but as I had from Lord Hutchinson a private order not to suffer either of them to go to an advanced post or into any kind of danger, I was very glad to get them off again this morning. If the enemy had attacked I could not have advised against,

much more prevented, their going forward; because they were in the uniform of British officers and a retreat at such a moment would neither have been decent nor honourable.

Kit went back with them as far as Preussisch Eylau to be their *cicisbeo*. Their arrival prevented my departure according to my intention, although my horses were sent forward; but I start to-morrow.

Six battalions of Russians, under Prince Ratzikow, marched to Dantzic, now menaced with a siege, last night; and I have some reason to believe that my representations as to the state of the Prussian garrison materially influenced this reinforcement to the city. I hope it will be a sufficient succour until our offensive operations are resumed.

Austria has declared herself to Buonaparte as an armed mediatrix. I think that this attitude is very advantageous to the allies, and gives again that consequence to Austria which her misfortunes had impaired. The answer of Russia is not known. In peace as the consequence I do not believe, for Buonaparte will never make the necessary restitutions. The sword must free these possessions from his grasp.

On the 17th of this month the Russian army, including the convalescents and regiments of chasseurs arrived from Russia, was fifty-five thousand effectives infantry and cavalry, and twelve thousand Cossacks. Essen has, moreover, twenty thousand with him. The Prussians under Lestocq are twenty-one thousand.

The garrison of Dantzic has eleven thousand Prussians, one thousand Cossacks, and two thousand Russian infantry.

When I shall be enabled to add an English and a

Swedish force then I shall be satisfied, and shall feel a triumph that my country has not neglected her duty : but now suspicion of our heartiness in aid is strongly prevalent, and I have daily assurances to make and entreaties to urge that judgment may be deferred until the season admits of embarkation.

If we send our forces for the acquisition of colonies instead of co-operating with our gallant friends for the common cause, I shall have to hide from their reproaches and the shame of meeting them as an Englishman, however as an individual I may acquire their esteem. A flotilla, even in the Baltic, within a fortnight would save our reputation for another month : victuallers should also come: *whereas the English vessels which arrive at Memel bring only ballast*. Should an admiral come to Dantzic roads or the commodore of a naval force I shall go there, provided that our operations are not very active at the moment ; but I have already sent to Mr. Gibson, stating that if a naval officer comes to the Russian head-quarters reporting the arrival of naval assistance he will be very well received.

Heilsberg, March 21.

Hutchinson returned on the night of the 19th from Preussisch Eylau, having satiated the curiosity of our visitors by the sight of a mass of dead which had been accumulated and which reappeared as the melting snow removed the concealing surface. Yesterday morning as my horses were already here I determined to walk, and made the journey of fifteen miles in four hours ; which, considering the state of the roads, was very good marching : but I was fatigued and should have

reposed myself if a Russian grenadier had not been for twelve miles my companion.

I found on my arrival Count Tolstoy, Prince Galitzin, General Tugisilow, Ouwarrow, and almost all the generals of the army rising from table. I, however, had my dinner prepared, and for my dessert had the satisfaction of reading General Platow's report stating that, on the 18th, he broke in upon the enemy's line of posts between Passenheim and Willenburg, made three hundred Polish cavalry prisoners with seven of their officers, and killed many; and that he had killed or taken *the whole* of the twenty-second regiment of French dragoons. His letter gave assurance of further success; and from his information we learnt that the enemy were withdrawing to the left with all their cannon and infantry. They had received some reinforcements of recruits and these were daily increasing; but from such aid, joining a dispirited army to whom the veteran soldiers will recount that with all their tried valour and discipline they could not conquer the Russians, we have not much to apprehend. Dombrowsky—father and son—the prisoners report, were wounded near Dantzic.

In this town and through the country the inhabitants are dying in alarming numbers, and now that the weather begins to open fevers will augment. Famine and disease will carry off at least one-third of the population: but there is a scheme now forming for the support of the survivors, and all countries will be solicited to contribute to their relief. Never was a desolation more general than in this country which has been the theatre of the late conflicts: those happy nations which have been exempted by God's

mercy from the ravages of war should express their gratitude and their compassion by bountiful charity to the people who have borne the affliction for the common cause. From several conversations that I have heard it appears that there is a great ambition among the Russian chiefs to receive the thanks of the British Parliament; as the expression of a nation's opinion of their service, which nation is the only one they esteem. General Beningsen's friends are very anxious that he should receive some mark of favour from the king. *I wish much that this hint should be given to some one for consideration.* I am positive that the adoption would be grateful in the highest degree to the Russians, and would extend the dignity of such a recompence: nay! that it would even restore these thanks to their former value, from which Mr. Sheridan's avidity for volunteer popularity has detracted. Never did an army deserve more the thanks of Europe, and particularly of England—for the victory is more for her benefit than for that of any other nation.

March 22.—General Beningsen, in his first indignation against the Poles, had on the 20th given an order that no quarter should be extended to them; but this was revoked yesterday. They will, however, be sent for life to Siberia, and the officers will experience a fate still more severe: particularly those who had once served Russia.

In my memoranda of yesterday I mentioned that the mortality in this town was very great. I now give the clergyman's report of burials. From the 1st of March to the 17th, out of a population of two thousand six hundred inhabitants eighty-four are

dead : and one-half of this number are supposed to have perished from hunger.

March 25.—I was prevailed upon to remain at Heilsberg until the 23rd after dinner : when I quitted my friends with much reluctance, but felt myself bound in honour to proceed as I had quitted General Beningsen with the promise of going to General Platow's. I rode to Seeburg, where I was received by General Knoring with much kindness and hospitality. Colonel Shepeloff, the chief of the hussar regiment bearing the name of the city of Grodno, and aide-de-camp to the emperor, entertained me in his quarters; and not only gave me a magnificent déjeuner but insisted upon ordering and going with me in a sledge and four (for it was freezing again very hard indeed) to General Ilavoiskoi's of the Cossacks who commanded at Wartenberg. On our way we stopped our horses to see two squadrons of his regiment, and in the whole course of my service I never saw finer men ; nor *such horses* in any campaign. These animals were all of the breed of the Don and in the highest condition : in blood equally good with the Hungarian horses, and in strength, particularly under the knee, powerful as our best English breed. The non-commanding officers were all warlike veterans : the men either portraits, or soldiers of high model, or youths with the florid complexion of our Lancashire lads. I was quite surprised, and lamented only that the sight was confined to myself.

At Wartenberg General Ilavoiskoi showed me all possible attention. He spoke French fluently. Seven brothers of his are in the service. His means did not correspond with his desires and he could only give us

in his ruined place a frugal meal—but I was never more pleasingly entertained. After dinner, several Calmucks were brought in who sang to us miserable sonnets, to be sure, and without the smallest harmony. These Calmucks have the resemblance of animated Chinese; and one made us laugh much by lamenting that a chief was absent though on his way to join us, who *on a shoulder of mutton roasted would tell General Beningsen much important intelligence*. The Calmucks verily believed in this oracle. Was there ever one more impudent, or more ingenious as a fiction for a campaign?

Towards dusk I went away alone in my sledge, escorted by a company of six Cossacks as I had to pass along the exterior line of videttes. About ten o'clock I arrived in their village—an outpost—where a colonel of Cossacks requested me to pass the night; as the road to Passenheim was not altogether safe at such an hour, not so much from the enemy, as on account of a lake that was to be crossed if I wished to avoid a considerable *détour*. I remained here therefore in a clergyman's house with him.

We are but dumb and savage society, speaking by signs when the clergyman our interpreter is absent: but nevertheless we have had several hearty laughs at witty remarks made without the use of speech.

I am now called on to eat caviare and to drink gin—a refined and delicate breakfast.

March 25, Passenheim.

I arrived here about ten o'clock in the morning, after passing through a beautifully wooded country. I speak as a traveller now. On entering this town I

found that General Platow had marched during the night to attack the enemy. I therefore was obliged to wait patiently until three o'clock, when he arrived and after him a great number of Polish prisoners.

He marched in three detachments to attack the confederates, who he heard were posted in the villages of Kutzin, Melza, and Ormilow. The detachment marching upon Kutzin was misled, for which the guide suffered death. The second column advanced at day-break against three squadrons posted in the village of Melza, attacked and drove them out. They retired with some loss upon the remainder of their regiment—six squadrons—when the whole fell back upon the woods of Mollendorf, where the Polish infantry were stationed. The Cossacks, however, feigned a flight; the Polish cavalry pursued over the plain, when the Cossacks formed and charged instantly in line, killed three hundred, and made the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and two hundred privates prisoners, when the affair terminated in the centre.

On the right the Polish infantry lined the woods and kept the Cossacks in check; but the brave Colonel Karpow, an officer who in numerous affairs had acquired the most distinguished reputation, conceived that he saw an opportunity to attack a small hollow square that was formed in an open space. He rushed forward—his Cossacks hesitated—he pierced—passed back again—and was already at the head of his advancing Cossacks, when a musket-ball struck him, and he fell dead. His regiment, stimulated by shame and burning for revenge, broke the enemy and spared only a few severely wounded.

After this the Cossacks retired to their own posts,

but deploring the death of their chief almost as much as if a battle had been lost

It appears that General Zayonjczek had proposed to attack the Cossacks at Passenheim with three thousand infantry, cannon, and fifteen squadrons of cavalry, but was anticipated at the moment he was commencing the march. No doubt the Polish general would suppose that General Platow had received information of this intention, and his attack will appear a measure of design upon intelligence which in fact was never in his possession. *In war the enemy often obtain credit for counsel in operations when they do not merit it; and that is ascribed to pre-arrangement which is the sole consequence of sudden or bold enterprise.*

The colonel of the Poles, who is a man of distinction, eagerly asked whether his people were all shot after being taken, and requested that he might have a soldier's death and not be hung; for Buonaparte had assured the Poles that this was the fate of all those who were taken by the Russians. His regiment was the best in the confederate army, and had been sent for from Dantzic by forced marches. The soldiers were tolerably good looking, and had been well clothed; but the Cossacks stripped the greater part of their uniforms.

The colonel told us that Prince Murat was to be their king and that he had assumed the Polish costume. How egregiously are these people duped, when Buonaparte offered to restore their country but a few days since to the King of Prussia!

I forgot to mention that the loss of the Cossacks was in all but seven killed and twelve wounded. Buonaparte, menaced at Osterode by these attacks and

receiving almost daily reports of some disaster, must be almost mad with mortified vanity.

During my journey, and the day after the capture of the five hundred French and Poles, the 25th regiment of French dragoons attacked the Cossacks near Ortelsburg. One-half of the Cossacks fled, the other half lying in ambush: no sooner had the pursuing dragoons passed than they rushed out, put to death the colonel—a relation of Buonaparte's—six officers, and one hundred and fifty privates, and made four officers and one hundred men prisoners. Among the captured officers was also a nephew of Buonaparte. He died yesterday of his wounds. These are the first of his recognised family I believe who have thus fallen.

March 30, Bartenstein.

On the evening of the 26th we attended the funeral of Colonel Karpow. The ceremony was affecting. The moment before the coffin was lowered into the grave, the lid was lifted, and his friends kissed his forehead. General Platow shed some tears, and observed that he did not weep for the lot of mortality but that friends could not go together out of the world. After the religious service was finished each bystander flung into the grave a handful of dust, and then bread and honey were served round to all.

In the evening an account came that the French had driven from Ortelsburg the three hundred Cossacks there posted, and occupied the town. General Platow immediately made arrangements to receive their attack if they advanced, or to dislodge them if they remained.

Hutchinson and Prince Galitzin had a narrow escape

from being made prisoners, as they had gone in a *caleche* to *Ortelsburg*, the most advanced post, contrary to the advice and representations of us all. They fortunately heard the firing, and at full speed regained a place of safety. The *Monteur* would have had a fine article if *these warriors* had been taken in a carriage at an outpost.

The next morning, General Tchaplitz, who was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy with his hussar regiment and three hundred Cossacks with six guns, made such a disposition that he obliged two thousand Polish infantry with four guns, eight hundred French cavalry, and three hundred Polish cavalry, to retire from *Ortelsburg* with the loss of fifty killed ; besides nine prisoners, who were afterwards massacred by the inhabitants in their indignation at the atrocities committed by the French during the night.

This service of General Tchaplitz was ably executed ; and the recovery of the post was important as through this place communication is preserved with General Essen's right wing at *Ostrolenka*. Three Russian officers and several hussars were severely wounded.

As General Platow now proposed to refresh his Cossacks for several days, Hutchinson went away in the night ; but not until after he had been entertained by some Cossack musicians with songs for several hours. They had few instruments and only such as were noisy, but their voices were at one moment barbarously wild and the next exquisitely delicate and harmonious. No singing ever gave me more pleasure for it was martial to the highest degree, and the ancient Scythians were recognised in their tones, gestures, and character. I am certain that an English

audience would give their melody preference to the Catalani's.

The next morning, having dined at *ten o'clock* with General Platow, Prince Galitzin and I took leave of him and went off in a peasant's waggon for Bartenstein. I had really been much amused during my stay with the Cossacks. The scene was novel and curious; but we had been very much deprived of what the English call comforts; particularly in our night lodging and in cleanliness. I however like Platow so much that I shall seize every occasion to accept his welcome.

We stopped half an hour with General Tchaplitz at Mensouth and then proceeded until dark. Night induced us to take shelter in a village near Bischoffstein, where a clergyman's house offered accommodation, and where we found a jolly parson who worshipped Galitzin when he found that he bore a family title.

The next morning at six o'clock we came on to Bartenstein. I was much pleased with my journey, not only because Galitzin is a good companion, but because I got much information from him about Russia. On my arrival here the general received me with kindness, and opened to me his plan of operations which is to commence as soon as the grand duke arrives with the guards and infantry; for the cavalry and artillery are halted on account of the number that we have already here. In ten days our force will then be, as the general showed us, 96,000 men—thus composed: now present, 65,700; the grand duke's corps, 15,000; Lestocq, 16,000: in all, 96,700 combatants, exclusive of General Essen's corps, the garrison of Dantzic—16,000, and other detachments. So that in the field

we shall have a full complement of 80,000 soldiers effective, bearing arms.

The corps of the grand duke is to join Lestocq instantly and they are to march together to Pleswic, in front of which village the passage is to be forced. The next day's march is to be upon Mühlhausen; the third day's upon Preussisch Holland. General Beningsen with the main army is to march so soon as the Prussian and Russian corps have forced the passage upon Liebstadt, and a strong corps of Cossacks will move upon Allenstein to harass and intercept the enemy retiring from Güttstadt &c., to assemble his force. General Beningsen after he has reached Liebstadt proposes to attack the French army wherever he may find it; but in the case of Buonaparte's continuing at Osterode he will oblige him to leave that position by menacing his communications with the Vistula. General Essen at the same time will make demonstrations.

Such is the outline of the project: its execution I cannot count upon, because our plans change like the weather. The time of moving must also depend on the state of the roads. If the season is wet they will be impracticable for a month at least. I however suspect that General Beningsen seeks to delay operations until the emperor arrives, and if Austria will not join Russia, that a peace will immediately be made. Such is the bearing of the present politics of the army, and the language on this subject is very strong.

There is a great impatience among the chiefs against sustaining the conflict *single-handed*; and notwithstanding that in the field no military can show more daring, there were never in any army more officers

disposed for peace. This proceeds from the errors of Paul's system which causes the military service to be rather avoided than sought for; and the greater part of the generals now wish to retire with honour. As for General Beningsen's wish for peace I can account for it; but I could not do so *prudently in writing to England*.

However, the general really believes, or affects to act as if he believed so, that the war will continue; and the French yesterday advanced two columns of infantry in front of Peterswalde. A flag of truce was then sent from them requiring the evacuation of that village by the Russians within an hour, to prevent the effusion of blood. Prince Bagrathion answered, that at no time should they ever again possess themselves of Peterswalde; that he wished for their attack; and he warned them against a repetition of such a flag of truce as endangering the personal safety of the officer so sent. The columns then retired.

Did the French imagine that Prussians occupied the post?

The general has changed his ground for battle in case of an attack, and now has chosen the advanced position of Ratch, Raunau, and Koenigen, to the right of Heilsberg, where we all go to-morrow. The heavy artillery, &c., is therefore all ordered forward.

There is a report that the British fleet has obliged the grand seignor to make peace with Russia. Some circumstances with which I am acquainted give probability to the story.

I cannot express the anxiety felt by the Russians for some active co-operation on the side of England. If we do not assist her with troops in case of their

continuing the war, we shall become in her eyes a despicable ally and a mercenary people, seeking colonies for private advantage instead of assisting the common cause of Europe. I really am often exposed to much mortification by their reflections on our supineness. Not even a ship has yet come to the Baltic with any kind of aid.

We have at the head-quarters the son of General Marbœuf of Corsica the reputed father of Buonaparte. He was taken by the Cossacks when the 27th regiment of dragoons was cut to pieces by them. He is a very good-looking and interesting young man; mild and not presuming. Buonaparte allows him six thousand francs per annum: and promised to protect him, because, as he said, "Je dois beaucoup à Monsieur votre père."

It is universally asserted that Buonaparte has left a son and heir to a clergyman at Landsberg. The father of a very fine girl at Passenheim, also a clergyman, assured us that a French general advised him to conceal his daughter from the emperor, and that he did so during his residence at the house which was for two days. I did not know before that Buonaparte was so human.

March 30.—The general this day goes to Heilsberg, and from thence to Prince Bagrathion in order to see the position which, in case of his being attacked, is to be taken and defended. But I have no idea that the enemy will hazard the offensive, or even await our operations. The army were intrenching, which is a proof of feebleness and to me an assurance that my original conjectures were right.

Colonel Stokowsky, the Polish colonel, has given

me some information on this matter, and I can depend upon him for he owes me much obligation. His acquaintance with many English first interested me in his behalf.

He says also that Buonaparte is overwhelmed with difficulties beyond what we have any conception of, and that he is moreover out of humour with all his officers. Among other evidences of this he has taken away the independent command from his marshals, because, he said, that at the battle of Preussisch Eylau his orders were not obeyed. They now act as generals of grand divisions under Massena, who commands the right. He in person commands the centre, Berthier the left.

We have had news from Austria of a promising kind, but in a few days her decision will be known. Mr. Adair states that she has two hundred and twenty-two thousand men under arms ready to march. The soldiers also anticipate the order with eagerness, and the country throughout is disposed for war: but the archduke says that if he makes war he wishes to make it well, and therefore must provide great means. The Diet that is to be called in Hungary on the 5th of April will probably give him the supplies he requires.

We expect Walpole with the definitive answer of Austria to the last memorial of our minister who appears to be acting very ably.

The equipage of Buonaparte is ordered from Warsaw to Posen immediately. In the month of April, 1807, the fates must determine the destinies of Europe after a conflict of fifteen years. I would really lose an arm that England with forty thousand men on the Con-

tinent, might be honourably represented in the last act of the tragedy.

Heilsberg, April 2.

On the 31st we arrived here. As our quarters were in a room where four children, two women, one shoemaker, two Cossacks, and our own servant, are lodged, Hutchinson and I preferred being littered down in Count Tolstoy's house; although the numbers already there were too great for ease or health. The next morning we rode out with the general to see the new position: but I did not regard the ground as a present theatre of action because I felt certain that the French would not attack us. At the same time I considered that if they did attack from a mad impulse of their chief, they would pass either to the right or left of our army which they could do with safety; and as there was no magazine of provisions for forty-eight hours, we should in that case be obliged to abandon the position in order to attack the enemy, or to fall back on our supplies.

The general afterwards went to Prince Bagrathion at Launau, but Count Tolstoy persuaded me to remain and dine with him at Heilsberg: here, before and after dinner, we had tournaments, and naval and military combats, in which the Count, Prince Dolgoroucky, Bischerdorff, Woronzow, Kratow, and I were the principal champions and sufferers; for if we gained triumphs we also retired from the field soaked, ragged, and bruised.

Bartenstein, April 2, Eight o'clock, P.M.

This morning we came back here, but as the Prince of Wurtemberg would go in a post waggon, I accompanied him

At Heilsberg a council was held, composed of the generals of division. The general plan of operations was discussed but not approved altogether ; the only change, however, so far as I can learn that was made was in keeping the guards with the main army, and sending another corps to the Prussians: for if any accident happened to the guards from the misconduct of their allies Russia would be outrageous, since these gentlemen are as precious at S. Petersburg as our own are in London.

The general received a journal of intelligence from Warsaw up to the 28th of March. The summary stated that " Buonaparte, who had changed his headquarters to Deutsch-Eylau, was on the 28th to arrive at Warsaw ; and that he was about to complete his intention of resigning the command altogether to Massena."

" Warsaw had been entirely evacuated of troops, but a regiment of Poles had marched in from Pultusk on the 27th."

" Prince Poniatowsky is become an object of suspicion to the French ; and also the Prince of Bavaria from his frequent conferences with the Austrian general Vincent."

" The desertions from the Poles and foreign troops are very great, and above a thousand wounded Poles and French arrived on the 27th"—the men wounded by the Cossacks.

Another letter which was sent from General Essen stated the important intelligence that Austria had sent Prince John Lichtenstein to acquaint Buonaparte that she found herself obliged by treaty to march against Turkey forty thousand men, who would be

under the orders of General Michelson. If this is confirmed, it is tantamount to a declaration of war: for Buonaparte cannot suffer such a measure, as this would proclaim a feebleness fraught with certain ruin to him; whereas by resistance he has one throw on the dice.

Tchaplitz also arrived announcing the immediate presence of the emperor with the army. He will be here probably in three days. He was to arrive at Memel this day; but there are *certain* reasons why he will not continue longer than absolutely necessary in that town.

If Austria has really made the bold *démarche* of which we are assured I am glad to see the emperor: but otherwise I much fear for the prevailing politics of peace, particularly on the part of General Beningsen.

The minister Budberg, Count Lieven, Count Tolstoy (the brother of the general), and Novosilzow accompany him. They will find an army in very high order, considering all the circumstances; and some regiments are remarkably fine. The Siberian chasseurs are models of *yägers*.

The guards arrived at Georgenburg this day. The grand duke will probably be here to-morrow.

The Marquis de la Riviera, the accredited minister of Louis XVIII., has arrived here, and is to remain with the army by permission of the emperor. He appears a clever man, and likely to be a valuable addition to our society. The news of his presence will not, I should imagine, be agreeable to the ears of Buonaparte.

Rubeaupierre is going, as the general told me this evening, to the King of Sweden in order to stimulate

his zeal, and request his assistance for the protection of Dantzic Bay, &c., until the English flotilla arrives or the Russian vessels can sail from their ports still frozen up.

This looks more warlike on the part of the general than any of his late measures. He has given another hostile instruction, not to allow any flag of truce, under any pretence, to approach his advanced posts

I have heard this afternoon that there are near fifteen thousand men at Grodno ready to join, but they have no arms. This is provoking. I hope that some supply from England both for Russians and Prussians is on the way, and some of Shrapnell's shot.

The mortality in the towns still continues: twenty-five people were buried in one day at Heilsberg last week. The Russians are doing what they can to relieve the inhabitants, and bake bread for them. As yet there has not been any serious sickness among the Russians, but the advancing season must bring with it great maladies.

General Sedmorasky, I am afraid, is dying. His complaint is fever. I visited him this morning. He appeared at the last agony.

It is stated that the French have lost twenty guns by the sluices of Dantzic being opened, and the waters suddenly overflowing the low lands in which they were. If these were heavy cannon the loss is important. We expect some news from thence, as the garrison is now stronger than the blockading force.

April 5.—The day before yesterday we received the news of the passage of the Dardanelles by Duck-

worth. It gave the Russians great pleasure, and is a reprieve to our reputation.

Yesterday I received two letters from England—dates the 7th and 20th of February. Lord Hutchinson also wrote that Baron Essen had arrived with despatches.

General Platow is taken very ill. A physician went off to him yesterday. The sickness will soon commence with violence; but hitherto we have had no warm weather, except for a day or two, and then snow fell to cover the ground again. I am quite weary of the white mantle, and long to see verdure.

April 7.—Advices were this day received of nine thousand Bavarians who had formed and raised the blockade of Kosel having joined General Massena. It is also said that the guns and ammunition were hastening from Warsaw to commence the sieges of Dantzic and Graudenz previously to the expected debarkation of the English. But the reporter, who is an Austrian officer of high rank, adds, “There is no chance of the English aiding so efficaciously—*they have too great an interest in the protraction of the war.*”

Is it not lamentable that the French calumnies should have found so much ignorance to impose upon? for what the Austrian writes is the feeling of his nation, and of every other upon the Continent.

How eagerly do I watch the winds, as I have hopes of an expedition soon proving to the world that our blood and treasure are not selfishly expended! If the war continues, and we do not strike a blow worthy of the British nation, I will turn Turk rather than continue a Briton.

Thirty—nay, fifteen thousand men more, at this moment, would insure, in spite of imbecility and pacificators, a glorious issue to our struggle.

If ministers have not seized the brilliant moment, theirs is a graver responsibility than I would charge myself with for their places.

But I depend much on the courage and ability of Lord Grenville. He is the stake of England, and I am not much afraid of the want of necessary exertion if real power is in his hands: but as yet not a vessel has appeared in the Baltic to succour Dantzic and protect the trade; and in fourteen days, if Austria does not join the coalition, all our efforts will be nugatory!

The King of Sweden does not now escape much censure. His inactivity and the confidence reposed by the enemy in his slumbers are remarkable. Officers have been sent to rouse him and stimulate his ambition. If he is a true hero he will disdain all ignoble resentments.

At Warsaw there was a few days since a very considerable alarm in consequence of a report that the Russians were within a few leagues of the town. Some Cossacks cutting wood, were asked by the Austrians for what purpose so much was collecting. "To pass the Bug," was the reply. The alarm was instantly communicated and a courier sent to Vienna. The affair was soon explained satisfactorily by General Essen. General Bellegarde is arrived at Cracow.

It now appears that the French have refused the armed mediation of Austria. This is favourable; for she has to fear punishment hereafter on account of the proposal.

A Warsaw newspaper was received yesterday containing the most ridiculous falsehoods, and a letter from Berthier to Buonaparte, stating that in the campaign against Prussia and Russia only fourteen thousand men are killed, dead of sickness and invalided, or prisoners. The French are not so good as English thieves; they have no idea of honour.

The Warsaw newspaper containing Buonaparte's message to the senate omits in the paragraph respecting Prussia, the words, "and eight millions of people," for fear of alarming the Poles with the notion of their restitution. But the Poles are not now so ignorant as they were, and desertion is very great among them. Two chiefs of battalions have come over to the Russians, which has made a great sensation.

The amnesty of the King of Prussia is published, and I believe that the Poles will be admitted to all the privileges of Prussian subjects. The king has exercised one already, for he has forced six thousand petty nobles (peasants who were exempted from military service and who went with a sword by their sides to plough their fields) into his army; telling them, "that they might become Prussian generals by their merits, since they enjoyed the privileges of Prussians." The fraternization is not very agreeable to their *lordships*.

The emperor and the king are at Georgenburg on their way hither, but they will not arrive for a few days. Lord Hutchinson is also coming. I presume that neither of these monarchs will see the fight, for Austerlitz and Jena will be fresh in their recollections.

At the age of sixty-five General Beningsen was a conqueror and a father. His trophies remain, but his darling achievement is no more. The news afflicts him much. I am not certain that the loss is irreparable. His disposition for peace will now probably increase as time is precious with him.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, the Prince Gagarin, and the Marquis de la Riviera are mounting the stairs to drink tea with us; so no more writing. Those who have to decipher my MS. will be very grateful to my visitors.

April 9.—Yesterday I went to dine with Count Osterman, quartered ten English miles from hence. We met there a large party: Tolstoy, Prince Barzadow, Dolgoroucky, General Doveton, Sacken, and indeed almost all the generals. The dinner was sumptuous, but white bread and vegetables were wanting, which I esteem essentials to wholesome feeding.

The orderly of the French general Colbert was brought in after dinner; the general himself narrowly escaped being taken: his intelligence was rather amusing than useful.

On my return I found the general in very low spirits. While millions are envying his fortune he is deploring great distresses. His wife when the courier came away was dangerously ill, and five days have elapsed without any tidings of her state. As if the domestic affliction was not a sufficient endurance, General Buxhowden, whom he superseded in his command, has written to him a most offensive letter and a challenge.

A Berlin letter was received replete with false-

hoods, but from it we gleaned that the Swedes have not suffered their swords to rest in the scabbards. A letter has also arrived from General Armfeldt, stating that his sovereign would soon take a very active part in the war.

We shall not in future be so destitute of information as to what is passing in the rest of Europe since the French have, in conformity as they state with the application of the Hamburg and other merchants, requested the King of Prussia to re-establish the post between Berlin and Königsberg through Dantzic. This is remarkable, since they are blockading this place.

Advices have been received from General Platow who is much better. The enemy now come foraging with two thousand infantry and five hundred horse, but always retire when the Cossacks appear: in one of these expeditions, however, they advanced to the villages where the Poles were some days back so severely handled, and they hung up the two unfortunate guides whom the Cossacks had obliged to conduct them. The Cossacks had as I stated put one to death for misleading them; so these poor people are really in a desperate predicament.

Nine o'clock, P.M.

General Beningsen states that Austria has refused the further export of provisions from Galicia for the service of the French troops. This prohibition is the most warlike measure that could be adopted, and one that must much embarrass the enemy.

A Swedish 44-gun ship has arrived at Pillau. Count Strogonow arrived this day. He came and

drank tea with us, and met the Marquis de la Riviera and Prince Galitzin. The count's brother afterwards came in. I like Strogonow much, but I do not now wish to see ministers at the army. "Cesserunt arma togæ." This will not be good news for England.

I have taken into my service the orderly of General Colbert, by birth a Lorrainer, by name Charles, and gifted with great intelligence and an honest physiognomy. The general was much satisfied that I took him as this saved him a Siberian excursion. I took a fancy to the character of his countenance and a gay wit which renders him very sociable. I feel that I dare repose on his honesty: if he betrays my trust he condemns every Frenchman that hereafter I may have the power of serving.

April 11.—An Irishman came here this morning, having passed through the French army. He says that he was shipwrecked some weeks since, and was taken by the enemy on his way from Dantzic to Memel. He is certainly a great rascal and tells an untrue tale; nevertheless, the general has given him passports for Memel. On his French pass—for he had one to go through their advanced posts—was written "William Spencer, native of *Ireland*, in *England*." I suspect him to have been an exiled rebel.

By his report and that of other French prisoners and deserters it appears that Buonaparte has, with his guards, quitted Osterode: some say for Thorn, others for Mohrungen where there is a strong position.

We expected the emperor to-morrow, but he has

not determined yet on what day he will quit Georgenburg where the King and Queen of Prussia are

With the guards are coming some battalions of militia. Our own will grow fierce, particularly if their representatives behave well of which I have little doubt.

There is one singular feeling in the Russian army. Instead of any jealousy towards the guards every individual pays them the homage almost of adoration. The guards are their idol of which they are constantly vaunting. It must be observed, however, that in the guards the officers are chiefly men of family and education. Of such men there is a great poverty in the line; so that the whole fabric of these regiments is calculated to command superior estimation.

The grand duke commands them, and indeed the first division. He is a great martinet; and the first question he put to an officer sent from hence to him with despatches was: "Are the officers of the army all dressed like you? If so, my corps shall never assimilate." I believe the officer had a sabre instead of a sword, and a pair of loose trousers: but after such a campaign and such effective work to consider dress as the most important feature of service, stamps the character of the grand duke as cast in the same mould with that of *many other distinguished corporals*.

Buonaparte is again in love. The Countess Malawitz—a Polonaise—is the object of his regard, and on her he lavishes his favours and his cordon of *honour*.

April 13.—The emperor is arrived at Schippenbeil, two German miles from hence; and he remains there

until the guards are assembled, which cannot be before the 16th. The King of Prussia is also at Schippenbeil. He brings with him ministers instead of troops; but Baron Hardenberg who now has the portefeuille will, I trust, do more than the Prussian army. Both the Russian and Prussian diplomacy are now assembled at the imperial head-quarters. The English ministers, Lords Douglas and Hutchinson, are absent; but we expect Lord Hutchinson, and it is strange that he is not arrived.

War or treaty? In ten days we shall know to conviction. I suspect the latter, and yet our movements are all warlike and so is the language.

The return of the state of the *effective* army is this day satisfactory, and the force is sufficient for the proposed object. The plan of operations, too, has not been changed; except that an attack is to be made on Güttsstadt the day before General Lestocq attempts the passage of the Passarge, in order to attract the enemy's attention that way.

The following is the exact return as submitted to the emperor; with the exception that I give totals, whereas he receives regimental states likewise:—

	Infantry and Artillery.	Cavalry.
General Beningsen . . .	50,507	14,000
General Essen . . .	11,679	6,321
Grand Duke . . .	16,139	5,000
Lestocq . . .	12,000	3,261
Cossacks	9,624
Total . . .	90,325	38,206

The garrisons of Dantzic and Graudenz make, moreover, 20,000.

All the troops are in high order, and the cavalry in remarkable condition.

The grand duke's corps is stated to be the most superb force that ever marched on service; and I can readily, from comparison with what I have seen, believe in their excellence.

The number of cannon exceeds seven hundred, but the state of the roads must regulate the quantity brought into action. The thaw is, however, now general, and the weather being fine the roads will in a few days be very passable.

The increasing number of sick and the difficulty of transporting provisions must occasion decisive measures immediately. Fortunately the Pregel enables the supplies to come to Schippenbeil by water, which relieves the embarrassments greatly: but if Prince Lubno had not undertaken to supply the army for thirty days there would have been almost an impossibility of remaining in this position so long, for the magazines at Königsberg and the private stores in Prussia are consumed.

The French army remains in statu quo. It is certain that the head-quarters are moved to Fischerstein where there is a large château.

Buonaparte has no idea of resuming offensive operations, but wishes to cover the sieges of Graudenz and Dantzic.

I now learn that propositions have been made to him but of an inadmissible nature; and the King of Prussia said yesterday, "I have now no thought of peace. The emperor has undertaken to restore me all my country and I am satisfied that he has sufficient means."

No monarch could show another more honour and respect than the emperor has shown the king. At Gerdauen he waited for him before the door five hours and then, making the grand duke's corps defile before him, presented him to the soldiery who shouted acclamations.

There is no favourable account from Austria. Yesterday's report from Warsaw stated, "The emperor will not make war because he fears the consequence. The archduke does not wish for war as he does not love the Russians: his two aides-de-camp increase his aversion. And, lastly, Austria wants money, and the English *font les avarés*." However, I do not altogether despair; but it is strange that we have no further news from Vienna or Constantinople.

Two o'clock, P M

Having dined with the general, I return to finish my letters, as our estafette is going off directly from us to Lord Hutchinson with the intelligence that, if he wishes to be in the action, he must not lose a moment. I rather fear that he cannot be in time unless he is now on the road

I really think that there is every reasonable prospect of a great and glorious success. Austria would have secured the triumph: a few English now landed would have materially contributed; their absence from the Continent at this moment gives me serious regret, but I still hope that some are on the way. It will be unpardonable if none are embarked; we should neither merit faithful allies nor an honourable peace, so far as the Continent is concerned.

Great men play the game high and scorn all meaner

advantages. We should strike always without waiting to spar. The partners of our adventures are too far for communicating. Each ally should have a *carte blanche*, and confide in the success of the others without waiting to ascertain the extent.

The month of April is fair weather in every sea that washes the Continent of Europe, and yet no succour in the Baltic; Königsberg is even menaced by French sailors who are come from France to Elbing; and at Lubeck numerous privateers are fitting out against our British trade. If any British merchant had ventured a speculation he would have made his fortune by only sending half a dozen ships to Pillau, Dantzic, or Memel, laden with provisions and clothing, and perhaps in addition porter and wine.

General Sedmorasky is dead of a malignant fever. He is much regretted, for he was greatly esteemed and beloved. He was the best of all the Russians in Holland, and he was a well-wisher of the English.

The mortality at Heilsberg continues; there will not be in a few days an inhabitant left.

General Platow is much better. He has been near Willenburg, and made forty-five prisoners and killed thirty-five of the enemy in a morning's ride with his Cossacks.

The amnesty to the Poles is published. This I recommended several weeks since and I have no doubt of a good effect. Desertion is now prevalent amongst them and has begun with the French. Fire and sword are, however, the best method of thinning their ranks.

The Marquis de la Riviera is here to gain pro-

selytes. I would gladly assist, but I do not much confide in his success. He will have a clearer view in a few days.

I hope London will be all joy soon after the receipt of this. If ministers have not assisted I hope they will be covered with shame.

Battenstein, April 15.

Yesterday we received accounts that the garrison of Graudenz had made a successful resistance to an assault in which the enemy lost many men. In the evening we learnt that Lord Hutchinson was setting out for Georgenburg to meet the emperor and king, when he received an account by a vessel in ten days from Leith that the administration was changed. This news was very unexpected, but was confirmed this morning by a letter from Lord H. The Roman Catholic question was the supposed cause; but Baron Hardenberg writes that the people of England were dissatisfied with the ministers for their indifference to the cause of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia. Certainly the late ministers have been highly culpable, for they might by exertion have by this time secured eventually a glorious termination, if they had not already concluded the war.

The news from Sweden was received this day. The conduct of the brave Swedes rejoices and chagrins me. Why were our succours not at hand? I really hang my head in shame and gnash my teeth with indignation. I cannot write all I know on this subject: but this is certain, that the indifference of England had very nearly rendered nugatory the struggle of fifteen years, and caused the oceans of blood that have flowed to have been shed in vain.

So far as I could act I have the satisfaction of knowing that I did all in my power to rouse from this torpidity.

The change gives evident pleasure to the Russians and Prussians. General Beningsen said this day that he was now as great an advocate for war as he had before been for peace. Our assistance may be late but yet useful. Brilliant achievements may yet be effected by a British army.

Baron Knorr arrived this day from Cracow in Gallicia. He is come to review the state of the army ; and much hope is now entertained of Austria's co-operation. He states that last week two squadrons of French cavalry deserted into Gallicia, and that the number of individual deserters is so great that the military are constantly employed in large detachments to escort them through Gallicia.

Dombrowsky and Poniatowsky have quarrelled. The former has brought charges against Poniatowsky of sending the military chest into Russia ; and the latter recriminates against Dombrowsky that he had been taking measures to surrender four thousand Poles to the Prussians. The confederates are in truth anxious to make peace with their sovereign and they are doing all in their power to impede the insurrection. If the French sustain a serious defeat I have no doubt that the Polish bayonets will be turned against them.

The emperor comes to Schippenbeil this evening. The state of the ice in the river Memel and the bad roads have so long detained the guards. Count Strogonow has just set out from hence to meet the emperor. The queen is at Konigsberg. I have received a long

and interesting letter from Major Blake in the Rio de la Plata. His account convinces me that resistance must be always made to the first encroachment, and I am more than ever persuaded that the Romish system of Christianity is the most pernicious politically that the English could encourage. He assures me that Arbuthnot is well. Some of my people are cut to pieces: one sergeant literally so, but he behaved nobly to the last moment of life. This was the sergeant whom General Moore had recommended to my notice, and whom I particularly selected for the service in which he died. I wrote to the general from the Cape stating what I had done; but I added that in giving him this chance I could not flatter with the hope that the expedition would terminate successfully.

The poor 71st, when surrendering their arms and exposed to the insults of the French mob, besought General Beresford, with tears in their eyes, to let them at least die with arms in their hands. Blake says that the general had persuaded the bishop to consecrate the fort in order to prevent the insurgents from attempting an attack upon it; but that this had the contrary effect since then a holy place was in the hands of heretics.

I was almost unmanned when I read his account.

I hope the government will put every Spaniard in close confinement until the brave remains are delivered from the mines in which they are no doubt working.

I like Blake much for one sentiment. He says, "There are seventeen millions of dollars in Monte Video; but the treasure we seek is our unfortunate companions and we will recover them with our blood as well as with whatever wealth may be captured."

I now hear that Sir Home was not "honourably acquitted," but "reprimanded." I know that he proposed well, but I must always think injudiciously.

I also hear that he is a Lord of the Admiralty. What vicissitudes in life!

April 16.—The guards are still detained by the bridge on the Pregel being broken down by the ice, so that the emperor cannot arrive before the 18th. This is very vexatious.

Five o'clock, P.M.

Contrary to expectation, the emperor is arrived at Schippenbeil, and is expected here to-morrow; but the guards have not been able to advance so far.

General Platow has had an affair. The French attacked him at Ortelsburg and Passenheim. He drove them back with loss; but they had temporary possession of the former place.

We have heard that the senate has refused to Buonaparte the conscription of the year ensuing. This, if confirmed, will be highly favourable. There is mischief inscribed in the book of fate against the present page of Buonaparte's life, and it will fall on him and his family.

The Bourbons are reviving. The emperor was with the King of France two hours at Mittau, and Louis XVIII.'s accredited minister is now here. He is at this moment entering my room. The old proverb may be applied good-naturedly.

April 17.—Yesterday morning the general and his officers, *en grand cordon*, marched on horseback to receive the emperor. Kit and I accompanied them by the general's desire. I confess that, with all my reverence for the distinguished personages, I thought

the scene resembled much a representation I once beheld at Bartholomew fair.

The emperor arriving said something civil to the general; who twice attempted to stoop so as to kiss his hand, and performed the rest of the ceremony with much grace. The emperor then bowed to all around him, and so did the King of Prussia. The cavalcade proceeded to the general's house, dismounted, and immediately the emperor, king, and General Bening-sen closeted themselves and remained in conference for two hours and until dinner was nearly ready; when they came out and held a few minutes' levée. The emperor and the king were very gracious to every one, including Kit and myself; but the first conversation was about dress—to officers who had been serving the rudest campaign in the history of the world!!!

Twenty-four persons, including ourselves, sat down to dinner. We were placed nearly opposite the emperor and the king. The conversation soon became general.

Both sovereigns talked very hostilely, and spoke of the crimes of Buonaparte; but Marbœuf appearing at the door as one of the spectators, that conversation ceased. It was impossible to be more easy or affable than the emperor.

The King of Prussia was more reserved than usual, and looked as if he was very ill. Perhaps the moustaches which he now wears are unfavourable to appearance.

————— “Man! proud man!
Drest in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.”

After dinner the sovereigns again held a levée ; the subject again, dress. They then went to the quarters that were prepared for them in the town. The emperor from his own paid a visit to the king. The king then went and returned the visit of the emperor : and then both monarchs went in the carriage to Schippenbeil.

The emperor has certainly a good countenance ; but the character given of him in a pamphlet on the negotiation which made a considerable sensation in London, as appears to us, has been drawn by the pen of a master in the talent of delineating mankind as they are. The Russians adore him for his beauty. The question is perpetually put and answered by themselves —“Is he not the handsomest man you ever saw ?” Their own impatience prevents me, even if I were so inclined, from stating falsehoods in compliment to these opinions. Our own princes are all his equals in feature, form, and manners ; but the “*Spretæ injuria formæ*” would be more fatal to me than Dido’s revenge to Æneas, and therefore on this subject I shall preserve a strict silence as well as on others *far more grave*.

With the emperor came only Count Tolstoy the master of the horse ; Count Lieven the military minister ; and Prince Wolkonsky. The corps diplomatique remained at Schippenbeil.

The emperor communicated that he had received the official intelligence of a victory obtained by General Michelson over the Turks. The details were not given, but many colours, cannon, and prisoners were taken.

The emperor told General Beningsen that he was

come to remain with his army ; not to interfere with the military measures but to aid and assist in the interior regulations and policy: and this I believe to be his real motive. How long he will remain is a great question, interesting to the world.

Four o'clock, P.M.

The general has told me that he received very favourable news this day from Vienna, and in consequence Baron Knorr goes away this evening. Even this hope is cheering, and we have advices that Mortier has marched to Braunau instead of Dantzic ; so that Buonaparte seems really to have serious fears of Austria.

Platow writes that he is menaced by Massena. The general has sent to his succour a regiment of dragoons, one of hussars, two battalions of infantry, and two of chasseurs: so if the enemy advance they will find an unexpected resistance, and the affair may be brilliant.

A singular coincidence occurred yesterday. On the 17th of April, 1794, I first spoke to the Emperor of Austria. On the 17th of April, 1807, I made the Russian emperor's acquaintance. I could draw the parallel closer, but I will leave to time the delineation of my notions and thoughts.

April 19.—Yesterday evening the emperor and the king arrived. This day Kit and I were invited to dine by the emperor. The king was present. The company was large but most distinguished. Baron Hardenberg was most remarkably kind to me. A singular reflection occurred to me. The day before I left England Mr. Canning when walking with me, said—"If Hardenberg were made minister I could

then have some confidence in Prussia. He is a worthy man and that appointment would be a victory." Now I first meet him as minister on the day on which I hear that Mr. Canning is British minister.

General Budberg, the Russian minister, was particularly communicative, and I have passed a very satisfactory time at the emperor's house. We sat at dinner immediately opposite to the emperor and the king, who both talked on general subjects with great familiarity.

April 20.—Received advice that two English ships of war have at last reached Dantzic to protect the Fairwater. Baron Hardenberg was much pleased.

From a newspaper of the 31st of March, there seems to be fine confusion in England but I shout here to Kit, "No popery!" and to the Russians, "Pitt's friends for ever!" The king's firmness is noble.

I dined with the king. The emperor was remarkably civil and expressed his wish publicly that under all circumstances I should remain with the army.

General Ruchel communicated the plan relative to Stralsund, by which six thousand Prussians are to be sent there, &c. *I have now a conviction that war is the resolution of the emperor and the king.*

To-morrow we go to Heilsberg to see the troops there; and from thence to Prince Bagrathion to see the advanced guard.

The emperor will return in two days.

Lord H. is not come, but Basilico is here.

Every moment that we are in society with the emperor the impression is more favourable; not from his particular gracious attention so flattering to us, but from a peculiar *douceur* which proves the benignity

of his disposition. His manner at the same time is so frank, that the most sceptical misanthrope must allow that he has all the characteristics of an honest mind in the exterior.

Bartenstein, April 23.

On the 21st, the emperor sent for us to dine at one o'clock, as he was to go to Heilsberg in the evening. We did not understand that an invitation on the former day was general, so we had not made our appearance. As the dinner was bringing in the emperor observed our absence, and instantly ordered a feld-yager to seek us. On our entrance the table was full, but the emperor directed that a seat opposite to himself should be made vacant and he bid me occupy it. He talked English during dinner very fluently, and our conversation turning upon the extent of his empire he displayed considerable geographical and historical knowledge.

In the evening Kit and I rode to Heilsberg, where we again met the emperor and were with him some time. The road was extremely bad to Heilsberg, and the emperor and the King of Prussia had with difficulty advanced there.

Tolstoy, my excellent friend Woronzow, Dolgoroucky, and others, were all at their posts, and I was quite happy to see them again. We slept at Tolstoy's on our *former* straw, for of that article there is no abundance. At six o'clock we rose, and at seven were on horseback to visit Prince Bagrathion and his advanced guard. We found the prince in high feather, and his troops were in excellent condition and admirably disposed. Their huts were also uncommonly elegant, covered with a verdant roof, and in front of each an

artificial tree; the top of this was shaped like an umbrella, and served as a protection for the fire-arms. The chasseurs of Siberia thus hutted in the forest formed a very picturesque and interesting spectacle.

The emperor rode to the extreme posts but only few accompanied him. On his return to the village Prince Bagrathion had prepared a dinner, but from this I stole away as the room was very crowded and the table still less proportioned to the company: for my evasion I was afterwards rebuked.

The emperor and the king, having dined, passed again through Heilsberg; halting there half an hour. We dined with Tolstoy, but before dinner we had a water battle in which I was well soused. In the evening we, with Count Strogonow and Prince Czartorysky the minister, rode to Bartenstein. The passage was really one of the "miseries of human life." Although very tired we drank tea with Strogonow, and then Novosilzow joined our party. We talked politics till near eleven o'clock at night. Four of us paid reverence to the memory of our illustrious Pitt.

We read a paper of the 12th of March; then no symptoms of a change of ministry were to be traced.

Colonel Krusenach and a Russian officer are going to England with the convention entered into by Russia and Prussia; to which the other powers are invited to accede. I request that much attention may be paid to these officers if they call; and that every means may be used to obtain for them attentions from our friends. Krusenach is aide-de-camp to the king.

April 23, Ten o'clock, P.M.

Dined with the emperor; more and more pleased

with him and with Prince William of Prussia, who is a delightful young man, full of intelligence and character. I think him the hope of the realm.

I have just had a *most interesting* conversation with General Beningsen ; but I must not say a word at present.

Kalkreuth and Prince Tcherbatow always stay at the ramparts during the night, and encourage the troops greatly by their presence.

Several houses have been burnt, and many of the inhabitants killed and wounded, but still there is no commotion in the town, and provisions as yet are plentiful.

We all feel much interested for the fate of Dantzic. As an Englishman, I am perhaps more so than others, as the siege might have been raised by our means well employed : but in justice to our new ministers I must observe that their despatches evince the greatest diligence and vigour and the soundest policy. They have already created a most satisfactory sensation in the Russian and Prussian Cabinets.

The King of Prussia went this day from Bartenstein to visit the queen at Königsberg. He returns the day after to-morrow. He thus unites love and war.

Four o'clock, P M.

I dined with the emperor and had considerable amusement. I was hardly attacked, but had the presence of mind to defend myself with some pertinent repartees. Lord Hutchinson was my chief antagonist.

I owe it to him to say also that he is all kindness to me and that he hourly increases the obligations I owe him. Twenty years hence perhaps I may avow

that his opinions were correct, and that mine were erroneous as to public transactions; for youth is the age of credulity.

Very unfavourable accounts have been received from Dantzic. The enemy make daily and rapid progress. This intelligence will probably accelerate our operations.

Major Morgan goes away this night; so does Basilico, who, poor old man! has been dragged to and from Memel as if he were a packet-boat. He will be sent to England by the first opportunity and probably will carry the tidings of an attack.

Our military diplomatic mission is now drolly dispersed. Hugot and Harvey are at Memel; Gower and Walpole at Königsberg; Lord Hutchinson and Eustace are visitors at Bartenstein; and Kit and I are the residents appointed by the emperor at his army, and his particular guests, so that we almost disdain dependence upon our liege lord and master.

The emperor this day desired us to read an article in the *Publiciste*, French paper, descriptive of the Russians—"as if they were some novel species of the human kind from some recently discovered country." He made this remark with so much good-humour that even the journalist must have admitted him to be no "barbarian."

All the army is in motion. Troops are continually passing. The guards will be here to-morrow. Five days hence and how many bodies of men will be strewn upon the earth, without chance of inhumation, but whose deaths ought to be envied by two-thirds of the surviving race of men!

There has been at Riga a very serious inundation.

Great mischief has been done, but more prevented by the courage of the inhabitants.

I had real pleasure a few days since. The conversation turned upon the Russian navy. My friend Miniski who is so often mentioned in my St. Helena journal, was not forgotten by me at this favourable moment. The emperor heard his commendations with the greatest satisfaction, and I was informed that he gave directions in consequence for his being employed in the most advantageous manner.

Miniski on his passage offered me his useful friendship if ever I visited S. Petersburg. Such is the revolution of human affairs that I first find myself in the presence of the Russian emperor, and in a position to procure him from his own sovereign beneficial notice.

But this I owe to Miniski—that he first preposessed his countrymen in my favour; and by that predilection I have gained more close fraternal affection among them than brothers of the same family are usually blessed with.

April 25.—On the 23rd I dined with the emperor. In the evening sent off my letters for England by Basilico, who is going as far as Memel hoping to meet Lord Hutchinson on his road: he is sent for but has neither arrived nor sent any answer, which makes us all uneasy.

Yesterday I had a very long and interesting conversation with Prince Czartorysky, on the subject with which I was made acquainted by General Beningsen.

I offered my consent to a great sacrifice, viz., to leave this army for a month on a mission of high importance. But I am in hopes that the application

will not be made any more as I should be sorry indeed to be absent if any military operations of consequence occurred. I consider myself, however, as a public servant as well as an officer, and therefore will not suffer private interests to prevail.

The anxiety for news and aid from England is at the highest pitch. I have told the emperor and the king that I would answer with my head for the new ministers sending with the advice of their appointment evidence of their disposition to support the common cause. I added my full assurance that troops were on their way for assistance to the Swedes.

Received intelligence of the Empress of Austria's death : news which I esteem favourable, for she was very jealous of the Archduke Charles, and was against the war inasmuch as it augmented his reputation and power.

In the forenoon arrived Major Morgan, late of the 9th Foot, from Vienna with despatches for Lord Hutchinson from Mr. Adair. He tells us that the public cry is for war, and that the death of the empress is thought likely to accelerate it. The emperor was on his way to Baden when he heard the intelligence of her illness. He returned ; she died ; and in three hours afterwards he set off again with the young Archduchess of Baden. He could not grieve for her.

Walpole had left Vienna a week.

The official intelligence from Vienna is favourable : indeed the public talk here under high sanction is charged with good omens as to Austria's co-operation.

Yesterday I dined with the king ; the emperor present. I laughed myself almost into a fit.

The emperor asked me who at Heilsberg formed

the naval combatants the other day. I mentioned Strogonow's name as a principal character. This unexpected denunciation of a minister tickled his fancy and that of the whole party so much that for the remainder of the dinner we were almost unable to recover our gravity.

The reports from Platow announce that the enemy are in movement, probably expecting an attack. In four days thirty-five Piedmontese from one regiment at Guttstadt have deserted. They unanimously state that the army is obliged to eat horseflesh, and advices from all parts of the line confirm this intelligence.

There is a report that the Bavarians have received orders to return to their own country, which the king whom I hope soon to see dethroned considers as about to be invaded by the Austrians.

If Gordon should call, I wish it to be mentioned to him as my opinion, that in case of England resolving to raise into continental corps for the war the numerous foreign troops who are dispersed throughout Germany and the disaffected auxiliaries, *one good point for such formation* is the Russian corps late under the command of General Essen but now, as he has received his dismissal, under that of General Tutchakow; as the foreign auxiliaries are all in that neighbourhood, and the passage through Galicia is very easy. I am convinced that if these corps are given to men of honour above unworthy proceedings for the sake of emolument, we may have in the points of Stralsund and Ostrolenka fifty thousand auxiliaries and instructed soldiers within a few weeks.

I would get all the Piedmontese to a man.

The desertion through Galicia continues to an extra-

ordinary degree, and particularly from the Anspachers, who all take service with the Prussian officers stationed to receive them. Major Morgan met six hundred on their march to join the Prussian army. Twenty-four Prussian soldiers also arrived yesterday from Mayence. One had on his complete uniform, and they all marched together. There must be great negligence in the French posts to suffer their escape.

Dantzic is not yet in danger ; but every eye thought and hope is turned to England. My country may immortalise her glory if she will employ her means at this moment. Her honour, her duty, her interest, demand such exertions. What a proud trophy to crown this sanguinary conflict—the admiration and gratitude of Europe !

I am certain that the news of fifty thousand English landing anywhere from Flanders to Dantzic would cause more joy than the gift of three millions of money. This is not the instant for financial succour if not combined with military support. I would much rather that we withdrew altogether from the contest than that we should have the dishonour of being lavish only with our treasure.

At this moment, such is the extraordinary state of the two mighty empires France and Russia that thirty thousand more soldiers will decide the fate of the campaign ; and probably of the war if the troops be placed in a proper position.

This morning Baron Hardenberg sent for me. The old song—no Lord Hutchinson—no news from England. My pledge in favour of ministers becomes every day weaker ; but, nevertheless, I will not despair, or suppose that I can be disappointed.

I hope that I have been the means of sending Woronzow to England with the papers which I mentioned in my last ; in the charge of which the Prussian Colonel Krusenach will be associated with him.

There is nothing in them to retard the preparations of England. They relate only to future contingencies, which render immediate active measures more necessary.

The weather is now very fine ; the roads are drying fast ; our sick diminish rather than increase. The want of provisions is yet great ; but in a few days the transport will be less difficult.

I hope the duke will command the British army. He has had the toil : he should share the glory.

. *April 26.*—Yesterday morning I sent an express to request, at the desire of the emperor and the king, that Captain Chatham or the officer commanding his majesty's ships of war off Dantzic should repair hither immediately, to consult on measures essential for the safety of that place.

Dined with the king. The emperor present. The day was one of great festivity being Easter Sunday, on which day every man however humble has a right to embrace the emperor, the empress, or any person they meet, saying only "Christ is risen." They then exchange coloured eggs. This is a custom still existing also in Holland, if I remember rightly ; but the origin of it and of the 1st of April being dedicated to folly has not been ascertained so far as I have ever heard, although the observance extends to so many different nations.

After dinner I was called in to drink some tumblers of champagne with some *good fellows*, who however

this day preferred *Bacchus* to *Minerva*. But there was one toast which was drank with solemn reverence. It was—"The memory of Pitt."

In the evening Lord Hutchinson and Eustace arrived in a waggon of the country, their carriage having broken down twice. Lord Hutchinson was in good health, humour and spirits. This morning he has been holding a conference with Hardenberg.

They brought with them three newspapers of the dates 23rd, 26th, 29th March which gave us much political information, but, alas! no military intelligence.

April 29.—April 26th, dined with the emperor who was very gay. Lord H. was more cheerful than I have ever seen him among strangers : Kit also.

General Beningsen told me that the emperor had given me the Cross of St. George, and added many compliments from himself which made me regret that I had not merited them more.

Yesterday morning, while we were at breakfast, Jackson and Colonel Bathurst entered. In addition to their own persons they brought large packets of letters, papers, &c., for all of us ; so we were devouring news of the most interesting kind for several hours.

I received a letter from Mr. Canning, which pleased me much : because, without any interested views, it is satisfactory to find friends unchanged by the favours of fortune—with regard to C., I may properly say, by the reward of talent.

Dined with the king. He told us that there was a French report of the Swedes having been beaten. There was also a rumour of the English expedition

having appeared off the Elbe; but our own information made us regret that the report could not possibly be true.

General Blücher was at table. He commands universal respect.

Advices were received from Dantzic. The enemy had thrown fifteen hundred shot and shell on the night of the 23rd into the town. The governor urged relief. Preparations are making for a secret service in which I am to be employed; although for very flattering reasons the permission was at one time doubtful.

Prince Radzivil arrived in the evening from Memel; also Woronzow, from whose father I had received a very kind letter.

Serious conferences with many persons on the present state of affairs and proposed projects.

April 30.—The intention is to send General Kamenskoi to Dantzic with eight thousand men along the Nehrung. To facilitate this movement, an attack will be made upon the whole line of the enemy. The Prussians will force the Passage near Pleswic. Benningesen will attack Guttstadt with the main army. The Cossacks and a corps will act upon Allenstein, and General Tutchakow, with twenty-six thousand men (late Essen's corps, but strongly reinforced), will re-engage Massena. The object is to secure the arrival of the column under Kamenskoi; with which increase of force it is presumed that Dantzic may hold out three weeks longer, and in that time Austria may have decided and the English have disembarked. But I think that a general action may be the result, as Buonaparte will certainly have the option of declining or giving battle. I do not fear the event, although the operation does

not accord with my ideas altogether, and in some points the plan is exceptionable.

I did expect to go with Kamenskoi; but the emperor has put his veto by honouring me with a command to remain with him, and in terms that would flatter the vanity of the most modest man. I think, however, that his regard makes me lose the more interesting service. Desertion still continues, particularly among the Piedmontese. Twenty Prussians also arrived this day from the French lines having made their escape after being taken in the neighbourhood of Dantzic.

Advices up to the 26th of April have been received from Dantzic. The siege continues with vigour. Several partial assaults have been made on the Havelberg, but they have been always repulsed and with great loss to the assailants. The Prussians and Russians have also suffered much. Since the siege began seven hundred men have been killed. How different is the defence of this place from that of the other Prussian fortresses! It will cost yet many lives before it is taken.

Bartenstem, May 3.

Yesterday three regiments of guards passed through on their way to Heilsberg, Woronzow commanding them. The emperor put himself at the head of each as they successively marched through the town, and paid these pretorian bands every possible compliment. I did not perceive so much difference between the guards and the troops of the line as is usual in other armies; but a more noble and martial body of men could not be seen, and the vast march they had just made rendered them more interesting to me. They

moved with as much firmness and yet ease as if they were on the parade at S. Petersburg, and the leanness of their faces gave the idea of men in the highest state of training for the support of fatigue.

At dinner the emperor told us that he had discovered an officer's wife in man's attire, and that he had learnt that she followed her husband from affectionate attachment to him alone. She has chosen the character of his groom, and as her conduct is irreproachable she will be allowed to retain her position.

The king returned in the evening.

I received a letter from Captain Chatham, commanding H. M. armed ship *Sally*. This letter has occasioned a long argument. The zeal of our naval officers really does them and our country great honour. I sent the letter to the emperor for his perusal.

We obtained advice of fifty ships having arrived at Memel from England, and that they brought news of an embarkation of English troops for the Continent. Blow prosperous winds, and all may yet be well !

The intelligence from Dantzic is not favourable. The Prussians, or rather Poles in the Prussian service, desert in great numbers, and in the combats run away as cowards. Numerous sorties have been made with little success on this account ; but various assaults have been repulsed with great loss to the enemy. The attack is only on the Havelberg, which proves that the besieging force is weak. The cannonade has been, since the 25th of April, incessant, and very heavy. Numerous houses are destroyed, and the inhabitants have swarmed together in one quarter as yet untouched by the bombs. But Prince Tcherbatow writes that he fears a battery will

be directed against that quarter, when the destruction of the people must be very great. He presses for reinforcements and indicates the *Nehrung* as the best passage for the troops : but there are other opinions as to that mode of throwing in succour, as the communication between the *Fairwater* and the town is not yet closed by the enemy in force. Whatever is done ought to be done quickly ; I am almost maddened by vexatious delays and timid counsels.

If *Dantzic* and *Graudenz* fall the campaign is lost, and the English will have a force of forty thousand men thrown upon them the moment they disembark : this force we might keep in check, and even employ for its own safety. Would to God that we had here but one head ! I have strongly urged the necessity of making every exertion to protract the siege on the above grounds ; and moreover because *Dantzic* is the point at which the Russian operations must commence and can be undertaken with the greatest damage to the enemy, whose retreat may even be intercepted from hence. The moral influence of its loss would also be to the greatest degree detrimental : *Austria* and *England* would hold back their aid on account of this proof of weakness, and the *Poles* would then seriously think of independence.

Buonaparte too might with this success change his position so as to render the continuance of the war a hopeless protraction of the conflict.

I have been so convinced of the necessity of maintaining this place that I have offered long since to go into it as an encouragement to the inhabitants,—to whom I would have said that I came to make arrangements for the debarkation of the English,—and as

a useful adjutant to the governor in his communications with our little flotilla. The emperor refused from too much regard for me : and *others from less satisfactory motives*. I am quite out of spirits and melancholy at the thought of such injury to the common cause and such triumph to the enemy. The battle of Preussisch Eylau was fought and won in vain if Buonaparte possesses himself of the fortresses he is now attacking : and, what is worse, we abandon the glory that so much blood was shed to attain, and that for the decoration of the vanquished.

Baron Ribeaupierre has returned from Sweden. His mission has been crowned with most complete success ; but time is necessary.

May 6.—Various projects and counter-projects have hitherto retarded military operations.

On the 5th a Russian courier arrived from England in a cutter commanded by Lieutenant Blow. His despatches are kept secret, but newspapers of the 12th of April acquainted us with the victory of ministers, and the appointment of Lord Gower as ambassador to S. Petersburg. This appointment gave satisfaction to this court ; as he is personally much liked.

Harvey sent us word also of Monte Video being taken, which information he received from the master of a vessel who left England on the 18th of April. This gave me great pleasure as an event likely to restore my friends to liberty.

Yesterday, after dining with the king I went with Prince Radzivil to visit the grand duke quartered in a small village two miles from hence. The grand duke I had only previously seen at table once, so that I had no opportunity of forming any opinion of his

talents ; but a conversation of an hour and a half now afforded me the means of appreciating them. I can truly affirm that I never heard a prince tell so many serious truths, argue with more political judgment, and show so much comprehension of the character of the different nations of Europe. There was only one nation whose civil institutions he did not know fully, and that was the English. Nor could he understand them so as to reconcile our political interference in the affairs of government with the loyalty and obedience of subjects. He showed himself conversant in our history, and in general there was evidence that great pains had been taken with his education. It was sufficiently clear, however, that he was a more agreeable companion than master ; for severity is his sole “argumentum ad hominem.” I really wish that his philippics had been heard by all sovereigns and ministers : the lesson would have been useful. Yet I do not believe that the King of Prussia would have remained in the room till the conclusion : so powerfully and with such accurate direction were the thunderbolts launched against him.

On our return the original party assembled to tea ; namely, Strogonow, Novosilzow, Prince Czartoryski, Prince Radzivil, Count Tolstoy, Count Lieven.

In general our conversaziones were very noisy, but on this occasion we had the singers of the emperor’s chapel : four men and four boys. I am no musician and yet I can pronounce that I never in my whole life heard such fine voices.

This morning I received a letter from Foresti,* the son of our consul at Corfu ; whom I knew at Vienna,

* See Appendix, No. 7.

and who very kindly has been sending me intelligence: but hitherto I have only received the letter to which I am now alluding.

He states the particulars of the passage of the Dardanelles, and the capture of Alexandria; also the loss of the *Ajax*.

I am delighted that Sir Sidney led the van, and had the opportunity of increasing his reputation.

The possession of Alexandria is advantageous to us. It is useful also to the Russians as diverting the Turkish operations. But the best use that we can make of it is to negotiate a peace with the Grand Seigneur on the principle of its restitution.

Advices were received from Vienna; no decisive movements. Buonaparte is willing to make a general peace, but must send to Turkey before any Congress can be assembled. This is a mere subterfuge to gain time.

May 7.—After dining with the emperor, Strogonow and I went to visit Woronzow at a distance of three miles from hence. His regiment was going out to exercise and we accompanied them. I had much reason to admire the troops. They manœuvred most correctly, and marched with great ease and grace.

After the exercise we returned to drink tea with the officers who were very fine young men and the élite of the land as to rank and education.

At Bartenstein our usual party assembled but Prince Radzivil took leave of us as we broke up: we lose in him a very pleasant companion. He returns to Memel, and from thence, I believe, goes to Galicia.

May 8.—Yesterday, dinner was very merrily cele-

brated, with much natural conversation. Counts Tolstoy and Osterman for this day joined our party ; but so strict is the Russian discipline that no officer is allowed to come from his post to the head-quarters, without express leave or on matters of serious business.

Afterwards the emperor went with the king to see Woronzow's battalion exercise. I was again much pleased with the manœuvring, and satisfied that the men are much better instructed than the English troops ; for all the movements are done without any pause and yet with precision, so that each soldier must be acquainted with the principle on which he exercises. The formation of columns and deployment on the march were admirably executed ; and the change of time at the word of command was so correct that the legs of the whole battalion acted as if they worked only from one pair of hips. All the officers also were acquainted with their duty ; and I could not observe any hesitation in the execution of any manœuvre, much less a fault. My dear Leopold was not more agile and more highly dressed than the horses of this battalion.

The emperor and the king returned highly satisfied. The former ordered each man a rouble as a present.

I remained to drink tea with Woronzow. Kit also stayed. We had a fierce argument on the Roman Catholic question : neither receded an iota ; but on our way to Bartenstein, Tolstoy and I had a race, in which John Sobieski was victor.

This morning the argument was renewed, but such a battery was opened from the peer that I have resolved never to place myself under such a

fire again without having secured a retreat. I am not hypocrite enough to maintain my opinion on religious grounds, for I have had too much intercourse with mankind and seen too much of the world not to respect the creed of all people. I feel no prejudice against any man because his faith differs from my own, but I will not ever support the measure of Roman Catholic Emancipation in the British empire: because this would in a short time produce an attempt to revolutionize our constitution in Church and State as at present settled, for the restoration of the pope's supremacy and for placing a king of the Romish faith upon the throne; when the faggots would again blaze in Smithfield to consume the bodies of heretics in order to purify their souls.

The Roman Church is always proselytising by fraud or force, therefore I will fight to resist her predominance. I will never agree to deprive my children of civil or religious liberty.

To prevent the despotism of that Church I would act as an enthusiast under the banner of our own: however friendly I really am to religious toleration *so far as worship is concerned*.

Besides this, *Irish "Roman Catholic claims"* mean also restoration of the property of the Church to that body; and by such a concession we should lose the attachment of the Irish members of our own branch of the Catholic Church who preserve to us the country. By the repeal of the Test Act we should also, if we escaped *conversion* by pomp and fire, incur much danger of the re-establishment of the Puritanical faction in power: a religion so ungentlemanlike mean and ungracious that I would sooner be a pagan. Into

what devilish hands did our Charles fall when he confided himself to them !

God and my sword defend me from the civil government of any church !

May 9.—This morning I rode to see the grand duke, it being the anniversary of his baptism and therefore a fête. Strogonow, Czartoryski, Novosilzow, Kit, and I went together. The grand duke was out. Strogonow and myself, being on borrowed horses and anxious to get back in time for dinner, pushed them *ventre à terre* until my Rosinante plunged into a bog, and I threw myself off to lighten him. In the attempt I was completely soaked. After long struggles the horse extricated himself, when we pursued the chase animating it by feats of horsemanship and seizures of each other's caps. As Strogonow was bareheaded, we rushed on a carriage in which were the emperor and the king who laughed most heartily. They were on their way to dine with the grand duke : but to relieve our uneasiness as to a dinner we were acquainted with the fact that one was ready at the emperor's. There, after a very necessary scrubbing from head to foot, we assembled ten in number, and were a very pleasant party.

Our entertainment was somewhat sombred by the intelligence that the enemy had, with a very superior force, stormed the intrenchments on the Holm Island at the back of Dantzic, after a very gallant resistance of the Russians. The loss of this place is very important ; as the difficulty of throwing succour into the city is much increased if the operation is not rendered impracticable : and the enemy can now throw shells into another quarter of the town.

General Kamenskoi, his staff, and five hundred men, were the day before yesterday embarked in the *Falcon* sloop-of-war, and five thousand five hundred men were embarked in other vessels. The wind being foul they had not sailed, but I presume that they have done so this day. Their debarkation is secured by the fort at the Fahr Wasser; but I much doubt whether they can effect any beneficial service.

General Beningsen is also to attack Guttstadt, to draw off the enemy's attention to this side. This is only one part of the original plan of operations: but I think that all is too late to save Dantzic and our honour, except in the event of a general battle which the Russian *ministers* will not fight. I attribute the refusal of battle to them, because they are the virtual commanders at present.

May 11.—Yesterday, as we were sitting down to dine with the king, General Beningsen came to acquaint the emperor that the regiment of horse guards was about to pass through Bartenstein. We all rose. The emperor mounted his horse and went to head the regiment, which came into the town in about half an hour.

I had always admired the Russian cavalry: but so superb a corps as this I never saw in any country, or such horses. Their condition surprised me more than the circumstance of this regiment having marched from S. Petersburg so lately.

When we returned to dine the grand duke also came to the table. The emperor and the king, who had been to visit him the day before, had not found his highness at home; but they notwithstanding were determined not to lose their dinners, and therefore

ordered up the grand duke's. His absence was not approved of.

In the afternoon General Beningsen went to Heilsberg. In the course of this day six different plans were resolved on, and I believe chance will at last determine whether any, and if any which, will be executed : but the whole army is assembled so that we are prepared for all events. The emperor and the king are to be at Heilsberg to-morrow morning. Kit and I go there after dinner this day.

Twenty Poles came in yesterday as deserters, and the Piedmontese battalions at Güttsstadt have their ranks daily thinned by the desertion of three or four soldiers.

The wind has been foul, so that Kamenskoi has not yet sailed ; but a cutter has preceded to give notice to the governor who keeps up a communication with the garrison of the town by means of a telegraph.

Exclusive of the garrisons of Dantzic and Graudenz, our army is this day one hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-six combatants ; but twelve thousand are in a second line reposing.

Heilsberg, May 13.

On the 11th, after dining with the emperor, Kit and I proceeded to this place. The weather was fine ; and the ride was rendered more agreeable by the sight of the various columns of troops moving in different directions to their position in this neighbourhood. In Heilsberg we found the greater part of our friends assembled and our circle was as happy as usual.

The next morning at seven o'clock the emperor

and the king arrived, and soon afterwards they mounted their horses to inspect the army. The day was favourable and the spectacle truly grand. The ground was also calculated to exhibit the most picturesque effects. Rich woods, verdant plains, lofty elevations, and a rapid river, were all bold features in the scenery : and although only forty-five thousand men were immediately in view, still the knowledge that at the same moment one hundred and five thousand men were arrayed in an alignement from the Vistula to the Bug augmented the interest and importance of the spectacle.

I could not help reflecting that I had seen similar armies swept away ingloriously, and I attentively examined the countenance of the king to discover whether his memory was painfully busy. The appearance of the troops was calculated to inspire the most martial feelings. But, alas! experience has proved that, without a head, the excellence of the hands is unavailing ; and now the difficulty of operations had increased by the want of provisions for man and horse. In the whole line there was not bread for two days, and the old thatch on the roofs of the houses on which the horses had long subsisted began to fail.

As the emperor came upon the right of the regiments, he always said, "How do you do, my friends?" and the men answered with evident sentiments of real affection. In the conversation which he held with various individuals who had distinguished themselves, the manly replies of the soldiers were admirable ; and characteristic of a spirit without which no nation can ever be truly great.

What different conduct have I witnessed even in my own countrymen! How often have I seen them cringe like slaves, and with a sheep face and faltering voice answer the address of their sovereign. Since the emperor has been here I have not known a Russian who in his presence has not given him cause to feel with pride that he is the chief of such a people.

Many of the soldiers were decorated with the newly-established order of St. George, and every one seemed to feel a pride as the emperor passed in being companion of an order borne by him. The institution of this distinction is certainly of great utility; it might be advantageously introduced in the English service if those who bore it were exempt from corporal punishment, which is the case among the Russians: but indeed corporal punishment is among them so little frequent that there are several regiments which for years have not had a man stripped. In the French service the practice is totally abolished. I asked my prisoner, Charles, whether the French soldier was on any occasion flogged. His countenance beamed indignation at the question, while he muttered, "A blow! No. There is not a soldier who would submit for a moment to such an outrage; and if one was dastard enough to bear it his comrades would hang him like a dog!" How lamentable to think that such a sentiment should come from a Frenchman, and that a British soldier should be daily lashed to the last fibre on his bones!

How many of those who have shed their blood in Egypt, at Maida, and at Monte Video, have since dyed the cat-o'-nine-tails with their gore. The fact

is, that we are the greatest savages and the most ungrateful tyrants that ever ruled over their fellow-men.

At two o'clock we returned to dine with the emperor. After dinner the Cossacks brought in twenty-five prisoners taken by them on the Passarge. From them we learnt that Liebstadt had by accident been burnt entirely down; only one house was saved. Marshal Soult was very ill at the time in the town and was with difficulty removed in a litter. Several magazines were happily also consumed.

An account reached the king that General Kamenskoi had at last sailed from Pillau. But little hopes are entertained of his being enabled to effect any service, as according to the last accounts Dantzic was being hardly pressed and had been on fire five days. The loss of the Russians at the storm of the Holm had been considerable: three hundred wounded men were seen to be transported across the Vistula. The troops which marched to Dantzic, however, under Prince Tcherbatow were mostly garrison soldiers almost unfit for actual service; so that their loss is not a serious detriment, but a subject of regret on account of their former exploits.

Papers to the 21st of April bring a *Gazette* account of the storm of Monte Video: an exploit highly honourable to the British arms; but not grateful to the allies, who lament the more that such courage had not been employed in services more beneficial to the common cause.

This truth Lord Hutchinson and all of us will ever declare: that never was a sovereign, an army, ministers, or a nation, more disposed to carry on a

war and to remain faithful to alliances than the Russian. If that country now adopts a policy which her own interests justify, England, and England alone, is the real friend of Buonaparte and of France.

I seriously grieve at the daily injury which our national character is sustaining in the eyes of Europe. Buonaparte need use no argument—he has merely to state the items of our mercenary transactions.

Bartenstein, May 15.

The emperor and the king mounted their horses about nine o'clock: Kit and I proceeded with General Beningsen: Lord H. and others ~~came on~~ slowly to save their horses and their native *leather*.

At Launau we found all the advanced guard under arms, drawn out since three o'clock in the morning and yet eager to attack. The head of the column of twenty-two thousand men extended to the débouchure of the wood in front of Peterswalde. Here we all remained under cover to avoid observation of the enemy. Every moment we expected the ~~order~~ to advance and deploy on the plain, and to be received with suitable discharges of cannon-shot. The emperor and the king at last moved forward attended by General Beningsen: they went to reconnoitre we were told the intervening ground; no attendants were allowed to follow. *I was satisfied*: therefore having eaten some bread and cheese I climbed a tree to look about me, descended, and at its root laid me down to sleep; snugly sheltered from the north-east blast that blew keenly and sometimes furiously.

Two hours passed away, when I was roused by

Lord Hutchinson who told me that the emperor had reconnoitred, and was gone back to Launau, there to breakfast with Prince Bagrathion. We mounted our horses, repassed the discontented columns sullenly moving to their original ground; and Strogonow and I went into Prince Bagrathion's where we drank coffee. At Heilsberg immediately we had dinner at the emperor's. He said that throughout Russia the 1st of May (ancient, and still Russian style) was consecrated to promenades and cavalcades: so that we had only followed custom.

There is really something so amiable in the character of this prince that it is impossible not to feel a personal interest in his glory and success, and therefore our hearts were not very gay at the time. However, I *once* have seen a similar *demonstration* in an ever-memorable battle near Tournay, in which a very good friend of mine was much distinguished: and I have heard that the *King of France with twenty thousand men*, and the *Bishop of Derry with his merry men*, have given similar examples to Europe.

To cheer us a little, Platow sent in sixty-five prisoners and four officers, all Poles, and a report stating that he had killed near Ortelsburg and Willenburg between three hundred and four hundred confederates.

Yesterday morning the rain poured down, but as the emperor was to see the corps of guards pass I determined to look at these troops again. First came the chevalier guards superior to any regiment of cavalry I ever *saw* in my life; then the garde-à-cheval; then the hussar guards; then the Tartar regiments—forming altogether a body of two thousand

five hundred almost inimitable cavalry. Then ten battalions of the foot guards—all grenadiers and six thousand eight hundred men strong; then the chasseur guards eight hundred men; and then the Leib Cossacks—a corps composed of the handsomest and most martial men that could be imagined: in this estimate Lord H. perfectly agreed. Their dress was also very beautiful; the national cap and red vest, and large loose light-blue trousers fastening under the boot. The whole certainly formed a *corps d'élite* unparalleled in the world.

As the last file was passing I observed Harvey coming full gallop. I rode up to him, and learnt that he was come with important despatches from England dated the 29th of April. The emperor called me to him, and having learnt the cause of Harvey's coming desired me to make haste to Lord Hutchinson. He pressed my hand as if he would notify his gratitude to England for the long-expected succour: and every heart was filled with hope. The despatches were delivered, opened, and examined * * * * * But I must write no more—I could, on my soul, shed tears; and I lament, as a source of unceasing affliction, that I ever came among the Russians. I might otherwise have heard how they were wronged and betrayed with only sentiments of regret for the honour of my country.

The king's speech on the prorogation of parliament was received. Religious dissensions can excite here no interest except from apprehension of such disturbances as may be injurious to the allies. The Russians cannot understand why the Romanists are mistrusted in modern times: and they rather incline

against the intolerance of the dominant power when the subject is spoken of.

In the *Gazette* account of the capture of Monte Video I learnt Vassall's and Brownrigge's deaths. They were both friends of mine. The former was one of the most excellent soldiers and gentlemen I was ever acquainted with.

Lord Hutchinson and Eustace went away for Bartenstein yesterday, and Kit, Harvey, and I rode here. In the evening Count Tolstoy came in: but we were all out of spirits, notwithstanding that Lestocq sent in a report that he had received some advice of an assault having been made on the Havelberg in which the enemy was defeated with great loss; and that Buonaparte was wounded, Berthier and Duroc killed. Since the story of *the gentleman of Aleppo* I do not credit these tales: particularly as I know that Buonaparte exposes himself as little as possible; not amongst his other vanities believing that he is a salamander.

This morning I received a letter from Priscilla,* dated the 3rd of April. It was sweetly short and the apology for its curtness occupied half the letter. As I find that she reads my journals I hope she may con twice this chastising memorandum.

I do not know the subject of "Crow's lectures;" but I remember that he was once so plain an orator on natural philosophy as to excite animadversion: and therefore I am not, from this and other anecdotes relating to the assembly, quite satisfied that an hour is usefully passed in the institute by all who go there—agreeably perhaps.

* Mrs Carleton.

Six o'clock, P M

While we were in the midst of a long argument respecting the construction of catamarans, the emperor warmly supporting my hypothesis, to our great astonishment entered the Count Drussini. He moved up to Lord H. as if we were all members of the "good-fellow-well-met" club. Lord H. rose and went out of the room with him. On his return alone I discovered from a remark that he was proposing to go on board a gun-vessel. The despatches received yesterday gave him the option of such an expedition, but I did not notice it as I thought he was unwilling to embark at this moment.

On our return we read the despatches, and although they were far from satisfactory they do honour to the present ministry for their heart and candour. *They* are not and must not be made responsible for the offences of their predecessors.* All they can do they will do—"make the most of little means."

Lord H. goes to the king at Malmoe or Stralsund, wherever he may be. General Clinton meets him there. Harvey goes off this night to bring round the *Hurrah* gun-vessel to Pillau for his conveyance. I believe that I am to remain here, but Eustace and Harvey accompany Lord H.

This is a complete revolution; my own suspicion is that Lord H. will not return to the Prussian court.

News has arrived that General Kamenskoi has landed at the Fahr Wasser; but the Swedish line-of-battle ship, which carried twelve hundred men, had not entered the roads and this delayed the execution of the enterprise. Three English praums had also arrived

* See letter of Woronzow, page 232.

and were proceeding to attack the batteries on the shores of the Vistula. The garrison of Dantzic still holds out gallantly. What a superb example! What a severe reproach to the cowardly governors of Magdeburg, Custrin, &c.!

The French have at last found men as their opponents, and their victories are no longer continued.

The *Astræa* frigate which brings out Lord Pembroke is to remain in the Baltic. I will never get into her again if I can help it.

Some military operations are still going forward. Kamenskoi will be reinforced and Tutchakow will keep Massena on the alert.

Beningsen will I believe lose the command, much to his own contentment and the utility of the service. Tolstoy is I hear to be the successor. On his merits I hazard not an opinion. His good qualities as a friend I have long and repeatedly enumerated.

The emperor and the king are to leave the army. France has accepted the mediation of Austria but as yet there is no talk of an armistice. I cannot think that if negotiations do commence tranquillity will be restored to Europe without another appeal to arms: but on the whole, as the brilliant opportunity has been lost, Europe would gain by a suspension of hostilities, that combined operations may be concerted.

Deserters daily come in. It is a pity that no officer is here to receive the Germans and Piedmontese. I wish that hint was given to Greenwood. It might be of service to the common cause, for daily four or five stout fellows are asking to be received into British service.

May 17.—Harvey and Drussini had left this but a few moments when a courier arrived with the intel-

ligence that on the 13th General Wickenstein had passed the Narew and taken two pieces of cannon, several French officers, and sixty men; also, that Platow had with his Cossacks attacked the Poles on the 12th at Melza, made three officers and one hundred men prisoners, and killed many more; and that from thence he immediately marched upon Allenstein, drove the enemy's posts into the town, and cannonaded the place from daybreak until sunset on the 13th, in order to divert the enemy in case of the proposed attack on Guttstadt being carried into execution. His loss was five killed and thirty wounded. My friend Rossen received a contusion on the head from a grape-shot.

As we were sitting down to dinner at the king's another courier arrived from General Tutchakow: stating that the enemy having passed the Narew at Sierock with some French troops, twelve thousand Bavarians, and some hundred Polish horse, they were attacked immediately by the Russian general and driven back across the Narew with a loss of several hundred killed—amongst whom was the French General Lemarrois, formerly an aide-de-camp to Buonaparte—three officers killed, and one hundred and seven prisoners.

In a postscript to the despatch General Tutchakow added, "I have just received intelligence that the enemy has forced my post on the Narew in front of Pultusk and crossed there, but I shall immediately march to attack them." He does not particularize the force, so we cannot yet ascertain whether this is a serious attack, but I suspect not. Dantzic yet holds out. The attempt to throw troops into the town was

made yesterday by General Kamenskoi. "Fortune" may "favour the bold," but the most propitious aid is necessary. All our operations await the result of this enterprise

In the evening, General Beningsen came in to tell us that Soult was dead. He was ill we know at Liebstadt. Beningsen pretends that our late demonstration rendering him anxious hastened his death. He was a good officer but I believe Buonaparte was rather suspicious of him. The French army was according to the report of deserters and prisoners kept under arms thirty-six hours in consequence of our late movements: which is an effect that in some degree compensates for the inconvenience suffered by our troops. The weather has been dreadfully bad: this is the first really fine day since the month began. According to accounts from S. Petersburg the Neva was still frozen on the 10th inst., an event unprecedented in their records.

Eustace has received a cargo of novels for Prince Radzivil: we are, I am ashamed to confess, so ennuyéd as to seek amusement in their perusal. I have finished this morning "Adeline Mowbray," by Mrs. Opie. Some of the scenes are interesting, but the foundation of the story is ridiculously strange and the greater part of the incidents very unnatural; nor do I give the authoress much credit for delicacy. She never read I am sure the laws of ancient Greece: there *infamous crimes had no punishment assigned to them, because the legislators feared to name the offences lest the youth might be taught the existence of such vice.* Curiosity in most young people is a more powerful sentiment than modesty; and Mrs. Opie in her anxiety

to promote virtue forgets that she must frequently cover the cheeks of a pure reader with a blush. These cautions act always as attractions: and therefore as no story is thought interesting where there is a monotony of virtue all such novels are bad reading for young people. I am now about to read "The Discarded Son"

May 19.—Yesterday we received the sorry intelligence that General Kamenskoi had made his attempt to relieve Dantzic in vain; and with a loss of thirteen hundred men of whom two hundred and fifty were Prussians. The attack was made on the morning of the 15th, two hours, unfortunately, after daybreak. The Russians twenty-seven thousand four hundred strong had to cross the Vistula and defile over the narrow bridge which communicated to the Nehrung. From this moment the French cannon played upon them from the Holm with effect; but forming three columns they advanced. The first column stormed the enemy's intrenchments with a resolution that is described by all who witnessed it to have approached to the most daring frenzy. The grenadiers of Oudinot's were in the works: the Russians mounted their parapet and spiked without mercy all those who had not time to fly—and they were many. They then advanced through the wood on the plain, but as the trees prevented their preservation of order they arrived irregularly. Here they were attacked by fourteen thousand men whom Buonaparte had sent on the 12th, 13th, and 14th, from his main army; and every ten minutes brought about two hundred more from the left bank of the Vistula. Unable to resist such a superiority they retired pressed by a large

body of cavalry. Forming again and reinforced they a second time advanced and drove the enemy ; a second time too they were driven back. The third time animated by a spirit of desperation and vengeance they rushed on with the bayonet, and again cleared the wood. But the tremendous fire of the French cannon prevented them from advancing further ; and, unfortunately, the Russians had not a cannon, and our vessels from want of wind could not get up notwithstanding the most gallant exertions of the crews : exertions which have claimed the admiration and gratitude of every Russian.

General Kamenskoi seeing the impossibility of forcing his way into the town ordered a retreat at eight o'clock, and the troops quietly marched under the cannon of Weichselmünde. But such was their gallantry that although every instant numbers were swept down, they kept cheering each other to die to a man rather than abandon the works they had so nobly gained without an order from the commander. Numbers of the enemy's best troops were killed and a Saxon battalion entirely destroyed. Among the Russians killed is Botte, one of General Beningsen's aides-de-camp : an excellent friend and a most accomplished young man. He had just left a bed of sickness to die with glory.

About forty officers were killed or wounded : several of them of great worth, but only one of the rank of colonel. General Beningsen's other aide-de-camp had two balls through his cap, his horse was killed, and he had a severe contusion on his side. His name is Count Balm.

The enemy have nothing to boast. The successful

resistance of twenty thousand men to five thousand is no great merit—and particularly when they were strengthened by most formidable intrenchments, cannon, and cavalry. That they should have lost their treble line of works and their cannon is indeed a disgrace, particularly when the attack was made in the face of day. Had our vessels been enabled to get in to the Vistula it is the opinion of all that the attack, however desperate, would have been successful. It is reported that Kamenskoi will make another attempt. With his means, it would be but a cruel sacrifice of brave men: soldiers who ought to be preserved; whose courage renders them worthy of adoration such as men once paid to heroes.

The town of Dantzic still holds out, but is in great want of powder. An English cutter is to endeavour to pass the Holm and the batteries and carry some into the town. The experiment is one of the boldest and I am afraid in the new turn of things not likely to succeed.

While Kamenskoi was attacking, a corps of two thousand six hundred Prussians moved along the Nehrung from Pillau. They were attacked by the French, routed, and pursued: losing six hundred men three guns and two vessels laden with provisions lying at anchor in the Haff: *not an officer was hurt.*

The general was Bulow.*

How wretched must be the spirit of the great Frederick if he knows what is passing upon earth!

These misfortunes have not daunted Russia. She is resolved to win a satisfactory vengeance and every bayonet is on the whetstone. Unfortunately, Bening-

* Name doubtful.—Ed.

sen is dangerously ill ; his complaint is a most painful one. He has cause for much regret as his wife, a handsome young woman, arrived in the neighbourhood of the army yesterday. I hope, however, that he will be relieved and allowed to return to his family.

Lord H. determined yesterday to go to Stralsund immediately. A letter from the King of Sweden to the King of Prussia and the wish of Baron Hardenberg have hastened his departure. He leaves this place in an hour.

The King of England has sent a most kind and sensible letter to the emperor since the late change of ministers. The emperor was highly pleased with it: this morning an answer has been written and transmitted which I hope will be equally acceptable.

General Massena has retired the troops he threw over the Narew at Pultusk on the approach of General Tutchakow.

I presume that we shall move from hence in three days.

Bartenstein, May 20

In the evening Strogonow came in, and Count Balm who had commanded one of the battalions at the late attempt to relieve Dantzic. From him we learnt every particular, and had much to admire and to lament. Never was Russian courage more conspicuously displayed and never more hopelessly, especially as our vessels could not enter; but the exertions of the British officers and crews have commanded the greatest praise and grateful acknowledgments. It is always added, however, "What a pity that you have not a government as well disposed!"

The French grenadiers were charged by the little

chasseurs and fled at their approach. The marais enabled them to rally and they dispersed *en tirailleur*, lying flat on the ground to fire; and yet, no doubt, the bulletin will announce their exploits *à l'arme blanche*.

Each party showed the greatest cruelty to the fallen wounded: but the destruction of the Saxon battalion was much deplored as they would have surrendered from enmity to the French.

General Kalkreuth's last telegraphic communication stated that he was determined to the last extremity; but he demanded powder and troops, and declared that the commanding officer at Fahr Wasser should be responsible with his head if he did not endeavour to send him this succour. I fear, however, that the city must fall; and this is more grievous as the merchants will be seriously punished by the French for the gallant assistance they have afforded to the garrison.

My friend Gibson has been the most distinguished leader.

This morning an account has been received from General Tutchakow. He states that he attacked a corps of the enemy which passed the Narew, killed four hundred, and took a major, five officers and one hundred and sixty-seven men prisoners. The date of the affair is the 17th and the place four miles in front of Pultusk. The enemy's corps was three thousand strong.

The king went away this morning to see General Lestocq at Heiligenbeil. The emperor goes to-morrow—where, is a secret

May 21.

The emperor went away this morning. He is gone

to Tilsit in order to hasten up the two divisions on the march from Russia and form a second line of defence. At the same time he is to expedite reinforcements to this army. There is something truly noble in his zeal. It is true that he is protecting this his own frontier: but the war is not properly his own. He might make for himself a most advantageous peace to-morrow; and so might Prussia: and I own that I feel surprised that these two powers do not so act, since England has behaved so shamefully towards Russia.

I also give Alexander more praise for his present conduct, as he sacrifices his pride and military feelings to public utility. His magnanimity is superior to personal consideration, and he disdains the influence of a mischievous vanity that might be injurious to the glory and welfare of his army. Such a prince deserves success and prosperity.

Tutchakow announces that the enemy are again quiet in his neighbourhood; and that he has received a reinforcement of eight battalions, which gives him a force equal to Massena's.

Strogonow, Czartoryski, Novosilzow, Kit and I go this evening to Königsberg, there to remain one day. C. and N. then follow the emperor: the rest of us return, and, as General Beningsen told us this morning, to witness again the Russian columns marching forward, "fanned by the crimson wing of victory."

The troops are all in motion and the cavalry are ordered to their position in order of battle.

Königsberg, May 22.

I resolved to proceed to Königsberg notwithstanding

ing much opposition ; and rode on five miles, when I overtook Prince Galitzin, Count Balm, and Schappen.

After proceeding five miles further we were induced to stop at a miller's house near Preussisch Eylau to pass the night, as darkness was falling and there was not such good accommodation further on. The position of the mill was remarkably picturesque. While supper was making ready we walked over the field of battle and our recollections were interesting. The time of evening was also congenial to wild imagination. A poet would have successfully described how the flitting ghosts of the slain were seen wandering over their remains : but I heard only their cry for vengeance and the shout of an approaching triumph. We returned to supper and had abundance of fish, but I did not partake of the feast not being satisfied as to their late diet. Until five o'clock in the morning we reposed delightfully on fresh straw ; when we rose, breakfasted, and again proceeded. At eleven we reached Königsberg and I found Gower and Hugot in very excellent lodgings and happy at the interview after so long a separation, particularly Hugot. An hour afterwards Hutchinson, &c., arrived. Walking out, I met Mr. Buch the queen's chamberlain, and soon after received an invitation from the queen to dine. As we were going out at the dinner hour Lord Hutchinson, &c, entered to our great surprise. He had left Königsberg in the morning early to go to Pillau by the Haff ; the boat was unmanageable the wind high and the boatman ignorant. Lord Hutchinson with difficulty escaped oversetting, and preserved himself eventually by getting into a little fishing-boat. The day before he had made a similar attempt but had

been obliged to come back on account of a foul wind: he now chid himself much for his folly in not going by land after all his experience of the perfidious elements of wind and water. I presume that water may still be called an element notwithstanding recent discoveries.

I hastened to my dinner, and there found the Queen, Princess Salms, Countess Lestocq, Countess Truxeff, Madame Thugut, Baron Hardenberg, Prince Galitzin, Schappen, Balm, and Büch.

The queen was in very good health and in all other respects as usual. We remained at dinner about an hour and a half: we then broke up and I went to General Rüchel with Hardenberg, where I learned the ill news of one of our cutters laden with seven hundred-weight of powder with fifty chasseurs &c. on board, having been taken by the enemy in the Vistula. The rudder was shot away, she ran aground, and yet made a most gallant defence: it is said that the captain is killed, but as this is uncertain I do not mention the name. The loss is very great for the town is in extreme want of ammunition: still it nobly holds out. At eight o'clock we returned to the queen's to drink tea and sup. Until supper we were all employed in making lint for the wounded. At supper besides the ladies mentioned was the Countess Muhl; and instead of the former men, the Prince of Pleiss, Gower, and Colonel Krusenach: we did not get away until midnight. This morning Lord Hutchinson, &c. went away in a coach; but previously to his departure I was enabled to serve *very much and essentially* the interests of Russia and Prussia and my own country. The return of Lord Hutchinson instead of being un-

fortunate was much the contrary, and a good destiny led me to Königsberg. But I cannot at this moment particularise this state mystery.

Yesterday I learned that Lord Paget had wished to come out as minister to Prussia, and that he had now asked leave to serve as a volunteer with the Russian army: this has been granted.

General Blücher and his corps have not yet embarked for Stralsund, but are expected to be away next week.

The ardour of the people here to enlist in the free corps forming for that service is very great: above three thousand young men have left their masters expecting to make a fortune and become officers by distinguishing themselves. Such is the force of reward of merit.

Previously to the last campaign every Prussian officer was born noble, and they well maintained the honour of their sovereign. We may now see whether men can be found, *without hereditary claims*, of sufficient pretension to acquire and merit to ennoble their appointment.

An event has now occurred at Lestocq's corps which might have been attended with great mischief. The orderly man sent with a written order to the advanced posts announcing that the emperor and king were about to visit them, deserted. His flight was discovered just in time for necessary precautions (before the arrival of the sovereigns) to prevent any enterprise of the enemy at the moment the sovereigns were passing to the line of videttes; where they had, it must be added, never any business.

The king returns here to-morrow. The emperor

will be at Tilsit, where it now appears he did not go in the first instance.

I shall be on my journey to Bartenstein early tomorrow, and I am much mistaken if my next journal will not be very interesting.

Bartenstein, May 28.

We returned here yesterday, after having passed five very agreeable days. My mornings were chiefly occupied in long walks with Gower. At dinner, Jackson, Strogonow, Czartoryski, and Novosilzow, with other Russians, assembled; and we were always gay. In the evening the queen had parties and went on the water. I had the honour to steer her boat. She sang with her sister the Princess Salms, who also accompanied on the guitar. The last evening, Jackson having made an arrangement for some English boats, we all went to Holstein distant five miles from Königsberg. The weather was remarkably fine and there was nothing omitted which could contribute to enliven the scene. A band of music and Russian singers followed the queen's boat, and this various harmony was truly enchanting. After having walked about the garden, drank tea, &c., we returned. In the Queen's boat were her Majesty, the Princess Salms, Countess Mühl, Novosilzow, Czartoryski, Strogonow, Gower, Jackson, and myself. The Duchess of Holstein, Countess Truxeff, Madame le Général Rüchel, Madame and Mademoiselle Krüdner, Hutchinson, Prince Galitzin, Count Balm, the Chamberlain, and Colonel Schappen were in two other boats.

We did not reach the landing-place before eleven o'clock at night; but the moon shone so brightly that

it was as light as day. When the royal party had entered their carriages Kit and I with Strogonow went home: not to sup or to sleep but to set off immediately for Bartenstein in post-waggon, understanding that the head-quarters were about to change from thence.

We travelled until twelve o'clock yesterday morning, when we arrived here with bones almost dislocated from the shattering. I never journeyed so wretchedly in my life. We found matters in statu quo; but symptoms were to be traced of an approaching movement. The general had gone to the grand duke. During our visit at Königsberg intelligence arrived of General Graubin at Graudenz having made a sortie, captured and disarmed three battalions of the enemy, and taken three vessels; one laden with coffee and sugar, another with rice, and a third with money and ammunition. But to counterbalance this advantage Dantzic was to surrender, according to advice received from General Kalkreuth, as yesterday. This misfortune has depressed all our spirits, and rendered our situation here very uncomfortable; for the English are accused as the cause of the disaster by their supineness, and our best friends painfully express their regret at such disloyal conduct.* Explanations

Londres, le 26 juin, 1807.

Il y a longtemps, mon cher Chevalier, que je vous devais une réponse à votre obligeante lettre; mais comme il n'y a pas de poste directe et réglée entre l'armée où vous êtes et le pays où je suis, on ne peut écrire que par l'occasion des courriers, qui ne sont pas fréquents. Le dernier de l'expédition, duquel je ne fus informé qu'une demi-heure avant son départ, me laissa à peine le temps d'écrire quelques lignes à mon fils; heureusement pour moi, j'ai été averti à temps du départ de celui qu'on envoie aujourd'hui pour pouvoir vous écrire et vous remercier pour le souvenir que vous voulez bien me conserver, et qui m'est très-précieux.

we cannot give: at best they would be unsatisfactory, and such as the facts are we cannot disclose them. I was much hurt yesterday at what I heard on this subject, and a recent circumstance connected with a money matter will I fear tend to exasperate still more the Russian feeling. The non-arrival of Lord Gower is also a fact which causes much suspicion.

- I do not comprehend what are now the intentions

J'ai monté votre lettre à Monsieur Canning, qui l'a lu avec beaucoup de satisfaction; et qui s'est exprimé sur votre sujet avec cette estime et considération qui vous est si justement dû, de la part de tous ceux qui savent la manière distinguée dont vous avez servi dans les différentes armées où vous vous êtes trouvé.

Si l'expédition des troupes pour le continent a été si tardive, la faute n'est pas dû au ministère actuel, aussi personne n'a ici l'injustice de le blâmer. Sous l'administration ferme et glorieuse de l'immortel Pitt, il y avait toujours environ 200 vaisseaux loués et préparés pour le transport des troupes; aussi dès qu'on en avait besoin rien n'y manquait. Il y avait toujours un nombre considérable de régiments qui étaient prêts à partir de l'endroit où ils étaient, et leurs stations étaient si judicieusement placées qu'ils pouvaient dans 4 ou 5 marches arriver à la côte de l'embarquement. C'est ainsi qu'il a pu envoyer des grands corps de troupes en Egypte, aux Indes Orientales et Occidentales, au Cap deux fois, et en Sicile et à Hanovre.

Les Foxistes en entiant en place ne furent occupés qu'à faire coûte qui coûte une paix quelconque: ils renvoyèrent tous les vaisseaux de transport loués par M^r. Pitt; ils refusèrent toute assistance à la Russie, et paralysèrent les opérations en Calabre, où le Chevalier Stuart avait battu les Français à Maida. Le Général Fox qui avait 18 mille hommes en Sicile pour délivrer le Royaume de Naples où il n'y avait que 10 mille hommes des plus mauvaises troupes de Buonaparte, rappela en Sicile le vainqueur de Maida. C'est dans cet état que le ministère présent entra en place. Les troupes n'étaient pas préparées ici pour des expéditions, il n'y avait pas de vaisseaux, et la saison était passée pour pouvoir en louer en grand nombre, et il fallait encore arranger l'intérieur de ceux qui devaient transporter la cavalerie. Voilà les difficultés qui ont retardé l'expédition; elles ont été vaincues à force d'argent et d'activité.

Je puis vous assurer que les ministres suivront les plans et les principes du grand homme que ce pays regrette de plus en plus.

Adieu, mon cher chevalier; donnez-moi de vos nouvelles.

Votre dévoué serviteur,

WORONZOW.

of the general. To attack an enemy reinforced by twenty thousand men and flushed by success, when he did not before think fit to move against their force, is to me a very extraordinary project of the same person. It is true that provisions had not previously been collected for above two days, but even the removal of this difficulty is more than counteracted by the increase of strength in the enemy's line.

We may—we shall, most probably—succeed ; but then the loss of Dantzic is an unpardonable error, and General Beningsen must lose the reputation which he has been so solicitous to gain : for Europe will distinguish between the talents of a great captain, and the courage of a soldier achieving conquest by dint of personal prowess in spite of the direction of ignorance.

Mulshausen, near Passenheim, May 31.

In the evening of the 28th the Marquis de la Riviera and I walked a long distance discoursing, until we reasoned ourselves into a complete melancholy reverie ; and to add to the chagrin of the marquis, in stepping over a ditch he broke a very fine long Damascus sword given him by Monsieur. But such is the marvellous character of my composition, and I presume therefore that of mankind in general, that this circumstance restored me to perfect good humour and I could not refrain from laughing heartily. Eventually the marquis joined ; for the accident was occasioned by the most ludicrous awkwardness. The real loss of such a valuable blade *au fond* grieved us both ; but our political reflections were dispersed by the accident and that was an immediate advantage.

After dinner on the 29th General Tutchakow's despatch was opened. It stated that the enemy had crossed the Narew in great force and were about to attack him. General Beningsen directly ordered the Cossacks to support him: and as Prince Galitzin was going with the instructions I resolved to accompany him in order to get rid of my ennui, which was increased by the positive intelligence of the loss of Dantzic; and with a view to visiting my friend Platow in addition to the motive of an interesting military service. The general gave me permission, but requested me not to remain too long, as he should on Monday or Tuesday commence "*serious operations*;" a phrase of which I am weary from its insignificant consequences.

As we were setting off, Count Strogonow determined to join our party and we gladly received him. My frame was scarcely recovered from its former shattering when again exposed to the vile and painful endurance of a journey in the waggon of the country. Strogonow and I, however, wedged so closely that we neutralized many a jolt by our well-timed reciprocal muscular energy; while Galitzin suffered without mitigation. As he was the fattest he was placed at the end without any neighbour for neither of us took a servant.

At Bischoffstein we found Prince Demetry Galitzin the commander of the cavalry, who had that day arrived from Rössel with the horse which had been sent to the rear in order to refresh. With him we drank tea and passed an hour; not altogether on account of the pleasure of being in his company, but because such was the time required by the postmaster for providing horses. We had scarcely got out of the

town when the rain fell in torrents and we were bathed from head to foot; and what was worse the carriage being filled with water we had to sit most uncomfortably on the wet straw. Nevertheless we were gay, and as the rain poured we spouted verses with occasional interruptions of resentful expressions against the climate; which indeed is much worse than that with which England is said to be afflicted: scarcely a tree is yet in blossom and we have not had eight fine days in this year.

After having travelled about twelve English miles in incessant rain, Galitzin prevailed on us to take shelter at a parson's house at which he had once stopped; and from thence we were to send on to order horses at Bischoffsburg so that no time should be lost. We took some refreshment, started again, and finally arrived at General Tchaplitz's at Mensouth, but not all together in the first instance since there was no waggon at Bischoffsburg large enough to hold three persons: Galitzin was for this reason obliged to await the preparation of a second cart. We found General Tchaplitz in bed and without a thought of attacking or being attacked. As General Platow was only distant three miles English, Strogonow and I thought it wiser to stay with Tchaplitz and repose, while Galitzin went on to the Cossacks. We drank some of the best coffee I had ever tasted and lay down till two o'clock; when we went on with General Tchaplitz to dine with Platow.

I cannot describe the pleasure I felt in seeing once more this amiable chief, and seeing him in good health; nor the satisfaction which I experienced in my reception.

We dined. He insisted on our sleeping in his quarters: and I am ashamed to say that we indulged in slumber till ten o'clock this morning.

All is quiet, and Tutchakow's alarm was ill-founded; but preparations are making for a visit to the Poles and therefore we remain here.

I have just been at luncheon. Grits with butter, lights of beef, herrings mashed, caviare, salt sturgeon of the Don, gin, and sour quashi formed our repast. How the mouth of my lady fair will water at this description of a luxurious *déjeuner*; if she has as much taste for epicurean dainties as I have! But if this peculiar diet should not be agreeable to her fancy the locale where I now find myself would charm. The house is beautifully situated on an elevation formed into a good garden, rising over a large lake full of fish and fringed with the richest wood scenery: but, alas! the weather is so bad that we can enjoy no promenades.

The French general, Gardanne, has sent in a letter this morning to announce that he shall fire a *feu de joie* for the capture of Dantzic. The revel may be but of short duration.

“The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?”

June 3.—June the 1st was passed in visiting the posts, eating and drinking seven or eight different meals, and reading a new French novel called “Mons. Botte,” which much amused me but which I cannot recommend to others. Nevertheless there are many interesting incidents, and the tale is tolerably well told.

In the evening I received a note from Kit Hutch-

inson, stating that his brother was returned from Pillau and was coming to Bartenstein without having been to Stralsund.

Yesterday morning General Platow and several of us went to dine at Wartenberg with General Knoring in the expectation of meeting Tolstoy and arranging some offensive operations. We were escorted along the line of videttes, which we were obliged to pass, by the Cossacks: the procession was extremely interesting, for there was not an individual who did not feel the anxiety of a child for the safety of a parent.

At Wartenberg we dined sumptuously and animatedly, for we had music singing and torrents of champagne; but as Tolstoy did not come there was no council. After dinner we went up to the garden: for the house in which General Knoring was lodged had originally been a monastery; and the fathers of the church had a taste for the luxuries of rural life, from reverence for the original quarters of the human kind, no doubt. Here we amused ourselves in various ways. From thence I went to call on a Major Hamilton, a Scotchman, who served in one of the regiments, and who is a very meritorious officer: he had fallen from his horse, and was lame; but to augment his calamity he had no money, for his regiment was five months in arrear of pay. I was very happy to have some gold in my pocket, which is a rare case as I have not been cured of the habit of losing it, and I applied to his service ten pounds; a fortune to him in his necessity, and a most satisfactory loan on my part, from the reflection of having relieved the wants of a brave officer, and a man married as I

am told to a most amiable woman by whom he has six children.

We left Wartenberg in high spirits at eight o'clock in the evening, and after travelling six miles we stopped at the quarters of Ilavoiskoi, general of Cossacks. We were received by a band of music; and on entering the room we saw sixteen extremely well-dressed girls, many of them very pretty. It appeared to me as an enchanted castle. I could not comprehend that within two miles of the enemy, at a solitary house in a Cossack quarter such a society could be collected. The fiddles struck up; and Polish dances, waltzes, Scotch and Cossack dances were called for in rapid succession, and the hetman himself led off to the admiration of the company. At one o'clock in the morning the supper was served; at two dancing again commenced; but Morpheus had such leaden influence over me that I went to sleep and continued in a delightful slumber until eight o'clock this morning, when I was interrupted by the arrival of the courier to the hetman. At that hour the music had ceased, the ladies had disappeared, and my eyes were thrown open upon a wretched dwelling with naked walls: so that the cobbler in the entertainment could not have been more magically deceived or more cruelly disappointed.

For fear of any sarcastic smile at the idea of my Polish belles I will give a description of the dress of one who was the *demoiselle* of the house where we had the dance. Her hair was bound up and round *à l'Anglaise*. She had a chemisette with a high and stiff frill—a kind of demi Mary-Queen-of-Scots costume; a blue silk dancing short gown—the skirt

open behind from the waist downwards but kept from flying forward by pink ribbon bows; a very white petticoat, with an imitation of a lace flounce in cotton; clean stockings and good shoes, with an ankle and foot sufficiently handsome to remind me of my own property. Having avowed this I expect that all surmise of scandal is anticipated; but the fact is also that I was too weary to notice the fair maidens beyond this outward observation of those points which move female sympathies at home—I mean face, form, and costume—and I retired too early for more accurate investigation.

The courier brought an order to General Platow to attack the enemy to-morrow morning, and for this object the corps of General Knoring was placed at his command. General Beningsen is himself to advance on the side of Launau, and we are to assault Güttsstadt in the rear. Three regiments of infantry, one of hussars, three of dragoons, ten of Cossacks, and twenty pieces of cannon form the strength of our column, and the chief attack will be directed by us. This induces me to remain: particularly as there is more chance of executing the projects which I shall never abandon when with the Cossacks than with the troops of the line.

At ten o'clock we left our dancing hall, and proceeded hither to return with the troops to Wartenberg; since the attack is to commence at daybreak.

We have just had a superb fish dinner which Bosville would have enjoyed; and our horses are now at the door for our march. As neither Strogonow nor I have any man or horse of our own establishment here Platow mounts us, and attaches Cossacks to our

service. The more I see of my esteemed chief, the more I have reason to admire him: were I his own son he could not lavish on me more kindness.

The narration of a circumstance which occurred the evening before the battle of Preussisch Eylau, and which was reported this day by a person who was witness unknown to me, has forced me deeper into the brave old man's affections; and thus I am fully recompensed.

The shout is to horse and I must mount. Tomorrow is the King of England's birthday: I hope we shall celebrate it gloriously. The word, I answer for it, shall be "George:" and "victory" I do not doubt will render honour to our sovereign's anniversary. How many "gentlemen of England" will wish that they had been in our ranks on this famous occasion!

I cannot desist without noticing an incident that has something of the comic mingled with its tragic character. The Cossacks in our neighbourhood observed that the enemy every day made fires in a particular spot, which during the night they abandoned from precaution. They beg a shell from the artillery; they bury it under the embers during the time in which the post is withdrawn: in the morning they lurk in the environs: the pickets advance; they rekindle their fires, and boil their kettles, while they stretch themselves around the flames seeking a fatal slumber. An explosion is heard: the Cossacks rush forward: the French fly, leaving their arms and six mangled carcasses of their countrymen.

This may not be thought consistent with the laws of war but there is much ingenuity in the conceit;

and I doubt whether such a stratagem is in fact not justifiable on the principle of mines. Usage makes the latter familiar; but for my own part I believe that in the laws of war and of nations "*might makes right*" generally: and the party which has power may exercise it with an assurance of support from two-thirds of mankind. Superiority and success therefore will decide whether experiments are commendable, or to be rejected as diabolical.

Wartenberg, June 4

We marched yesterday evening but a little before midnight: on the road a courier overtook us with a counter-order as the attack was to be deferred till to-morrow morning. The reasons assigned are various; but the most prevalent is that the emperor is to be in the field and cannot arrive before the 5th. It is, however, a detrimental delay, as the enemy must be acquainted with our movements and prepare accordingly. There has been as yet no change as to the scene of action; but I own that I am jealous of Allenstein which is left uncovered and from which the enemy may push in our rear, after we have passed the Aller, seven thousand men. I consider the affair of to-morrow but as the prelude of a general battle, and that we shall all assemble on one field of combat about the 7th, to decide the important question of superiority in awful conflict.

If the collected armies do meet the shock will vibrate round the globe: and those who survive will have to recount the exploits of a day more memorable even than that of Preussisch Eylau; because the pre-

parations on both sides must necessarily be equal, and the power brought to bear will be nearly double.

If I live to become an old man I shall really be a hoary warrior, for not an individual has had the good fortune to see in service so many martial and bloody scenes. I did propose for a moment to go to Heilsberg but Platow would not suffer it; and he has mounted me on one of his best horses.

We arrived here very much fatigued; but I had the luxury of eating some asparagus before I threw myself down on the straw with Strogonow. We slept on it until late this morning.

We dine with General Knoring, and although we cannot celebrate the king's birthday by a victory we shall drink "the health of the King of England" to the sound of trumpets. If our troops had but leaders with what enthusiasm would the anniversary be hailed!

Alt Waitenberg, Ten o'clock, P.M

At six o'clock in the morning I went with Strogonow to see General Tchaplitz present to thirty of his hussars the new cross of the order of St. George instituted for the soldiers. The regiment was mounted. The general addressed them, related their several achievements, told them of the distinction conferred on them, and the duty imposed on them by the honour of knighthood. He then fastened on the breast of each the cross; and kissed each chevalier on both cheeks and on the lips. Such kisses are indeed hallowed: they do honour to the giver and receiver. The whole scene was affecting; and more interesting from being on the eve of a battle. Strogonow could not help shedding tears, and all were moved by the

combination of gratitude, admiration, and hope. The soldiers seemed to feel the value of this distinction, and will I make no doubt flesh their swords to-morrow in the van of danger.

After this ceremony was over we marched towards this place with the hetman, &c, and the troops. The beauty of the spectacle exceeded all description. The various dresses of the troops, their animation, the sounding trumpets, the singers, the drum thundering in the vale or on the brow of a hill rising over a magnificent lake ornamented to the border with a dark wood and with a neat cottage in a recess, commanded a throng of ideas mingling the tender with the sublime. The winding columns and the lances glittering in the light recalled to my memory the ode of an English poet descriptive of a military array in ancient times. But it required more than the pencil of a Claude Lorraine to depict the landscape, as the sun set in the red and gold horizon ominous of carnage and glory.

We arrived here half an hour since, this village being distant only six miles from Wartenberg; and here we were again charmed by magnificent scenery and martial wildness, with all the "circumstance" and "pride and pomp" of war; nor can I imagine a more entrancing picture for a soldier than that which I have this day witnessed.

At dinner, the health of the king was given, and pledged with "heart and voice." His name was also associated with that of the emperor in the following toast—to "Eternal friendship between the two nations," to which from our souls we answered Amen!

CHAPTER VIII.

Preparations for the campaign—Arrival at the seat of war—General Marchand killed—The Hetman Platow—Discomfiture of the French army—Arrival of Buonaparte—Successful charge of the Cossacks—Wild scene of confusion and pillage—Buonaparte profits by the blunders of his adversaries—French and Russian positions—Battle of Friedland—French at first foiled, but subsequently succeed—Great loss of Russians—Imbecility of Beningsen—Retreat of the Russians—Bridges of Memel and Tilsit burnt—News of an armistice—French are desirous of peace—Meeting of the Emperors on the left of the Niemen—A peace concluded—Dinner parties and daily meetings of the sovereigns—Visits to Tilsit in disguise—Platow's kindness and friendship—The "cordon of dishonour"—The treacherous peace—Dismissal of Beningsen and Haidenberg—Anecdotes of Buonaparte—French bulletins; their falsehood and impudence—Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, interview with them—Visit to Baron Haidenberg—Wounded Russian soldier: his pathetic address—Arrival at S. Petersburg—Visit to the Emperor and Empress—Despatches for England—Departure from S. Petersburg—Anchored in Harwich harbour—Leaves England once more—S. Petersburg again—Conference with Romanzow—Preparations to leave S. Petersburg—On board the "Snipe" gun-boat—Arrival in England—Termination of the narrative.

Alt Wuntemburg, June 4, 10 o'clock, P.M.

ALTHOUGH within two hours of marching against the enemy and invited to repose by fatigue and example, I prefer that employment which gives my mind most content as affording future pleasure to the object for whom I write my journal.

The hetman has disclosed his plan of operations, and with a judgment and perspicuity which commanded the admiration and confidence of every one. We pass at midnight to Bergfried (a place memorable in our retreat for much loss) where we throw pontoons over the Aller. Prince Gortschakow moves on our right and throws his pontoons over at Kellaren.

Two regiments of Cossacks and one of Tartars preserve the communication with our column: this I foresee will be very essential, for we have much to do and particularly from the side of Allenstein, so that no doubt we shall require succour. General Tutchakow, Prince Bagrathion, and Count Osterman attack on the right of Guttstadt, and the two former will force the Passarge. To explain the first day's operations it will be sufficient to state that the French position from the Vistula at Braunsberg to the Bug forms two sides of a triangle, with some inequalities particularly at Willenburg; but Guttstadt is the advanced point and this is to be cut off by five columns directed upon it as one centre. By the loss of Guttstadt the enemy is obliged to retire upon his field of battle wherever he has chosen it: necessarily behind the Passarge, but on this side the Vistula. He must set his fortunes on the die if he will not fly to his *têtes du pont*, which I now do not think he will do for he has recovered his presumption from our faults. It appears to me that the plan is good: but the execution requires talent, and particularly after the columns are collected behind Guttstadt. Nevertheless I have no apprehension of misadventure for our courage will fix fortune to the points of our bayonets. Unfortunately, Tutchakow, General Steingel, and Markow are ill. The first and the last are very excellent officers: Steingel is a brave and worthy man, but not the best quartermaster-general; which place he has hitherto occupied.

Now to lie down—much more comfortably than on the eve of the battle of Preussisch Eylau. May God on the morrow prosper the Russian arms, and protect

those who are dear to me in the event of my falling—as a soldier should die, but which would be as yet somewhat untimely as a man!

June 7, 1807.

With wretched materials and *à la belle étoile* I steal a few minutes away from my friends to write what this leisure may afford me.

We arrived at daybreak at Bergfried but by a wrong road, which vexed the general much. However there was no ill consequence. Three regiments of Cossacks having passed the Aller *à la nage*, arrived in rear of the enemy's post at the moment we appeared to pass the river, and carried it directly. A captain, two subalterns, and six privates were made prisoners. The captain was in great anxiety when I came up; but, perceiving him to be a *brother mason* from an intellectual communication, I gave him protection and an order that he should be well treated at Königsberg. The bridge at Bergfried was destroyed but the piers remained and planks were laid by which men on foot could pass; the horses were swam over; and in the course of half an hour six pontoons were laid for the crossing of the artillery.

It was then that I saw one of the most saddening and at the same time disgusting spectacles that it was possible for the eye to rest upon. A hundred dead bodies of men thrown into the river at Allenstein after the affair of the 12th of May, had been arrested here by the piers of the bridge and by fallen timbers; and here they formed the most horrible mass of corruption that can be imagined: yet during the day I was doomed to drink frequently water which had washed this decomposing flesh of men. When

our column had passed we took up a position to wait tidings from the columns on our right, by messengers or a cannonade ; but the Cossacks were sent forward to reconnoitre. One regiment was placed under the command of Strogonow, who pushing with much enterprise fell in with the baggage of Marshal Ney's corps at the village of Rosengarth. It surrendered with above thirty officers and five hundred men without any resistance. This prize was very valuable. All Marshal Ney's equipage was taken, the military chest, and fifty waggons laden with useful and rich property. There were also a dozen women : they were much frightened but not hurt in any way.

As the cannonade was now distinctly heard the remaining Cossacks were ordered forward ; but Platow with the infantry deeming it expedient to watch the enemy on our left at Allenstein advanced only two miles and then halted. The burning camps of the enemy and the nearing of the Russian cannonade assured us that the French were retiring, and we therefore hastened to meet them. General Dincersdorf having gained the plain in front of Glottau, charged a body of the enemy, killed General Marchand, took a colonel of hussars several other officers and fifty privates prisoners, and killed a considerable number. We now saw the whole of Marshal Ney's corps retiring by us : but unfortunately we had no cannon or hussars to support the Cossacks, or we might have exterminated the enemy and taken every gun they had. Sometimes indeed they formed ; but being pressed on their left they again retreated in the greatest disorder, pursued by the fire and the shouts of the Cossacks on their right and by the cannon-shot

of the Russians on their centre and left. The whole defiled within five hundred yards of us to our great mortification. And here I learnt an useful lesson in war as to the necessity of enterprise in chiefs on certain occasions ; for had Platow but moved forward in the first instance everything we hoped for would have been gained : but he acted with justifiable precaution in remaining where he did.

While I was observing the enemy who were firing some guns upon us, a ball struck the earth under my horse's belly and covered me with earth (and large pieces) from head to foot. I had scarcely time to be assured that I was not wounded when a second ball fell immediately on my right and repeated the compliment, at the same time throwing a large proportion in my face.

My Cossack now came up to me with great anger in his countenance and expressions of resentment.* He pointed at my helmet and feather and I could comprehend that he desired me to pull it off and take his bonnet. On my declining this he attempted to take it by force, seizing the cap ; but at the instant, a third ball by its harsh singing in his ears interrupted the amicable and on his part generous contest, and we divided : but I still had the honour for several more rounds of being noticed by the enemy, who no doubt imagined that I was a general by the distinction of the plume.

When the Cossack was asked by General Tchaplitz afterwards for an explanation of the matter, he excused his violence by this observation :—"The hetman has many Cossacks but only one stranger

* Related in the "Sketch" as happening to a "British officer."—Ed.

with him : it was my duty therefore to do that which might avert from him mischief, and from us the sorrow of losing in such a manner a guest whom we esteem."

Who of my friends reading this will not admire the Cossack Gregoire ? I have taken his counsel and we shall no longer quarrel respecting a feather.

I was wishing to return to Strogonow from whom I had advanced ; but to my surprise I found the wood in the rear occupied by the enemy ; who, to save Marshal Ney, had advanced from Allenstein. I was obliged therefore to go to General Dinersdorf whom I found in the same dilemma. He finally requested me to go to Prince Gortschakow on our right and explain all matters to him. I found the prince at Guttstadt, which he had taken ; and here also many more of my friends rejoicing at their success, for the enemy had left their camps standing—and beautiful camps they were—many magazines, much baggage, and three hundred prisoners. I also then learnt that Prince Bagrathion had gained an advantage ; but I was grieved to find my friend Count Osterman wounded, and also General Zarrow the Kamschatkan general : moreover Colonel S. Pré, mortally I fear, and his younger brother killed. They were the sons of the French ambassador formerly in Russia. Having arranged the matters on account of which I was sent, I returned with Platow to Domnau. From thence I went with my Cossacks to Platow through the wood which the enemy had occupied, but which we had been told they had quitted. I found them only retiring but I got safe through ; and after a ride from thence of five miles came to the hetman whom I found with all my friends in the

greatest inquietude on my account, as they had received a report of my being taken.

My reception from Platow was such as a lost son would experience on returning to his father; and from all as if I had been a brother. I was deeply affected by their kindness and regard.

General Platow now thought it right to retire for the night behind his bridge and leave only an advanced guard in front. This measure was executed. As night fell we were all reposing, our horses were feeding on the margin of the river, and I was with Strogonow and Tchaplitiz, for the first time that day eating a piece of meat and drinking again of the polluted stream—the water, however, was rectified by some gin—when in a moment we perceived flashes from the heights above us, balls whistled round us, and a sharp fire of musketry commenced. I cannot describe the scene of confusion which followed. I can only state that three thousand Cossacks and a regiment of hussars had to seek and mount their horses; while the infantry seized their arms and rushed over the bridge repulsing the enemy with vigour. In about half an hour the horse had got into a place of safety, and with some order; and shortly afterwards all firing ceased. I was without my horse some time; he had straggled from my Cossack, and I thought it better to remain where I was: a stranger in such a scene runs great risk if he wanders about.

When order was re-established Platow, &c., came back, and we lay down to repose awaiting further orders from General Beningsen. These instead of arriving at two o'clock in the morning did not reach us before six, and we ought to have been in move-

ment before four as Prince Bagrathion then advanced.

We were told that the enemy had strongly occupied the wood between us and the prince, and I went to reconnoitre. I saw the enemy retreating pursued by a heavy cannonade, and returned to Platow to report but found him advancing. As I foresaw that he would not be in any affair that day from the unfortunate delay of the message, I left him and went with Strogonow and a regiment of Cossacks to the left; but we did not reach the enemy's fire until they had crossed the Passarge river. Here we found another Cossack regiment who had crossed the Passarge at a ford, and penetrating to the rear of the enemy eight miles, had taken and brought away one gun, broken the carriage of another which from want of tackling they could not bring off, and, after plundering, set fire to twenty baggage-waggon.

The cannonade and musketry were very heavy at Deppen where Prince Bagrathion was still contending for a bridge in a village to which the enemy had set fire. I went to him as it was of consequence to let him know what Platow and the Cossacks were about; and having communicated with him I returned to Platow whom I found on the left of the enemy. The general went to head-quarters. I would not go, fearing to be detained; and preferred therefore to dine with Colonel Rosen on some bread and cheese and to sleep, being nearly exhausted with fatigue and the excessive heat. The cannonade continued till nearly six o'clock in the evening, as did also the musketry, and then ceased; leaving the Russians masters of the bridge partly ruined by fire.

In the evening I was sent for by the hetman and found him going to sup with General Tchaplitz ; where I enjoyed a most luxurious repast in the society of the best friends I ever knew in my life. Covered by the canopy of a bright heaven, with such society, I felt indifferent to every thing else in the world that is called comfort, and would not have exchanged meals with the Lord Mayor of London. I say—

Je suis militaire ;
C'est un bel état.
Je vivrai, et j'espère
Je mourrai soldat.

Alas ! in the confusion of the previous night I had lost my portmanteau containing all my toilet apparatus, all my clothes, knives, forks, and spoons ; *with my writing equipage*, which loss grieved me more than any other and reduces me to this necessity.*

However, we all parted happy, and I went to sleep in close vicinity to Baron Rosen and General Tchaplitz : for we had the same litter of old straw to repose on. We slept like pudding-eaters although we have not enjoyed any such luxury for many days.

This morning the enemy have been firing popping shots, and occasionally we have interchanged cannon-balls. A great part of our army has marched to different points and we move this evening upon Allenstein. I do not know the whole plan of operations, but in a few days something must occur to decide the campaign we have commenced.

Marshal Ney's corps, originally twenty-four thousand men, have been driven across the Passarge : with the loss of a general killed, one taken, and several

* Some pages here are not in Sir Robert Wilson's handwriting.—ED.

wounded (the arm of one I saw yesterday—it belonged to General du Fagel, of the engineers), three thousand prisoners, as many killed and wounded, all its baggage, and considerable magazines, with several pieces of cannon. It may not be a victory but it is a very serious discomfiture to the enemy. And he must do much to repair the error of his position; for we have it in our power yet to inflict more injury upon his scattered troops, before we can be forced to fight a general battle.

We have only to lament that Dantzic was not saved by this enterprise made at an earlier period. Our loss has not exceeded four hundred men. Bathurst had nearly been killed on account of his wearing a red coat; and what is worse, he exposed his friends to danger by this folly. Lord H. and Kit were in the action, but I have not seen either of them.

I am obliged to desist and send off one letter.

I am sent for to the grand duke; we march this night and attack to-morrow. I still remain with Platow.

Evening, June 9.

Since writing my last peculiar journal so many extraordinary interesting and diversified events have occurred that I almost apprehend inability to detail them.

On the evening of the 7th we did not march, as an account was received that Allenstein was in our possession: I therefore paid a visit to the grand duke and General Beningsen, but did not find Lord H. as he had gone in the morning to Guttstadt.

The next morning a heavy cannonade commenced at the village of Deppen, and on going to Prince

Bagrathion I saw two corps of the French army manœuvring and making a false attack on our position. It lasted several hours but cost the enemy dear, as we poured grape on them from our heights like hailstones. A feeble fire of musketry continued the remainder of the day, and towards noon the troops, particularly the cavalry, appeared to defile as if in the direction of Osterode.

We had seen Buonaparte arrive. The troops stood to their arms and cried "Vive l'Empereur!" as he passed. His presence was a sure token of the commencement of serious operations.

We were arranging an expedition on the French side of the Passarge river during the night when an order came directing us to march to *Launau*; but afterwards we found that the true name of the place intended was *Lingnau*, which was quite another point as we now became the right instead of the left of the main army.

We did not reach Lingnau before four o'clock in the morning, when General Ouwarrow who had been sent to maintain the post with his brigade of cavalry gave us the pleasure of keeping in check five corps of the French army, who having crossed the Passarge at Elditten were found on the skirts of a wood covering the bridge in five advanced columns of infantry and one of cavalry. Our Cossacks skirmished with them successfully; being encouraged by the account of General Ilavoiskoi having on the preceding night attacked three regiments of French dragoons, killed six hundred, and made several hundred prisoners.

When we were thus employed within cannon-shot of the enemy an order came from General Beningsen

directing us to form the rear-guard of the right column of his army as he was retiring to Heilsberg, and to co-operate with Prince Bagrathion who formed the rear-guard of the left. We therefore at about eleven o'clock withdrew our main force to a position convenient for feeding our horses, and Platow fixed his standards on an island of one of the most beautiful lakes in the world: here I was happy enough notwithstanding a very severe fusillade to change my clothes and to bathe, an operation that was become essentially necessary.

While I was dressing a Cossack announced the approaching enemy, and hurrying on my clothes I mounted my horse for the field of combat: where on arriving with two regiments of Cossacks I found those already there engaged vigorously with the enemy, who was advancing from the wood in the plain in two lines; cavalry in front, and with several columns on the flanks skirting the flanking woods.

The Cossacks saw a good opportunity to sweep off the skirmishing horde of hussars and cuirassiers who had advanced too far from the line. They charged with a loud yell as usual, and so home that the infantry was obliged to form hollow squares and fire several volleys; while the cavalry rushed to the right involving the scene in a cloud of dust. The *mêlée* was terrible. The Cossacks retired with many horses pursued by musketry as the cloud dispersed, and several pieces of cannon played on them; but although they covered the plain with their numbers, such is their *éparpillé'd* manner of action that few shots reached them to do injury.

I have since found that the emperor was on the

right when the attack was directed, and that the Prince Murat ordered the cavalry to gallop there in order to protect him.

The French still continued to advance ; but they could only drive back the Cossacks and other cavalry which now acted, by musketry from the hollow squares skirting the forests, and by cannon. The enemy's cavalry did not dare attempt any enterprise, but still their skirmishers were thrown out in great numbers. The Leib Cossacks—certainly the finest and most beautiful corps in the world—watched a favourable opportunity and charged along the enemy's line, making many prisoners, killing many—amongst whom was the colonel of cuirassiers—and taking one hundred horses. This gallant service they accomplished with scarcely any loss.

Encouraged by this success three regiments of cavalry belonging to Prince Bagrathion made a third charge, aided by the yells and by the pikes of the Cossacks ; and again most happily, with ample remuneration for their gallantry by their capture.

But still the enemy advanced ; and as they had now brought up many guns, a retreat across the river through Guttstadt became an essential measure. Prince Bagrathion carried off the greater part of his infantry safely and afterwards his dragoons passed with little loss ; but as the last fifty chasseurs-à-pied were gaining the bridge, the enemy charged down and the fifty were drowned ; but the bridge was nevertheless destroyed effectually.

A very heavy cannonade being directed upon the Cossacks and the two bridges by which we were to pass, Platow foresaw that disorder and destruction

would ensue if the three thousand horse which he had to conduct were suffered to pass precipitately. He therefore dismounted from his horse, and, all about him following his example, marched leisurely for a mile before he gained the town under a very severe cannonade; passed the first bridge on which the enemy was firing, with the same order, through the town into which the shot was falling in great quantities, and the second bridge also. On the other side of the town was a deep sand with an elevation, where several Russian guns were established and on which the French poured their fire.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences and the clouds of black dust which almost choked respiration, Platow persisted and walked to the wood in the rear; where there was a temporary security, and where his Cossacks entered, and remained not only until the bridges were destroyed and all the Russian guns withdrawn, but until the enemy advancing on the wood—which from the bending of the river they were able to do—formed a considerable line and fired volleys of musketry by platoons. Platow then proceeded; but soon halted again, and remained until some shot struck the tree under which he was reposing. The third halt was about a mile further, and here we remained about an hour in order to give time for all the incumbrances of our army to gain a place of safety.

While we were reposing, a cry of the enemy in the wood roused us; and for a few minutes there was the wildest scene of confusion. The Cossacks yelled, the horses rushed about loose, everything was in disorder; and the tumult reached some of the artillery in advance who left their guns and fled with the horses.

The waggoners conveying baggage followed their example, and the roads were choked with carts, &c., overturned.

While I was attempting to mount my horse he struck me two violent blows, one on the knee and the other on the groin; the last almost rendered me senseless for a few minutes. Order was, however, at last restored and silence obtained by Platow's activity and menaces. Parties were sent out to reconnoitre, others were sent to bring back the drivers, &c., and the necessary measures were taken to resist or attack; but in a few minutes several French were brought in prisoners, from whom we learnt that twenty yägers passing the ford and entering the wood had been the cause of this alarm. These adventurers, however, paid dearly, being all killed or taken. The drivers were brought back and all the guns, waggons, &c., were carried off; but much of the baggage had been pillaged by the Cossacks during the disorder, and the grand duke's was not respected.

When all had passed sufficiently forward we again marched; and after seven miles' advance in this unblest wood we gained the open ground and then halted for the night. It was bitter cold. The next morning as no enemy appeared I rode on to Heilsberg, where I first met since his return Lord Hutchinson, his brother, Eustace, and Bathurst. Here I also dined; but scarcely was our meal finished before we were informed that musketry and cannon were heard in the neighbourhood.

I mounted my horse with the intention of joining Platow who had been ordered to cross the river and go to Launau; but as he had not passed I proceeded to

Prince Bagrathion where there was a very severe action. I found him retiring according to order, pressed vigorously by a very large army but sustaining the fire with great order and resolution. When he reached the river, Prince Murat with his cavalry advanced, and the Russian cavalry much inferior in force at this moment moved forward to cover the infantry. The action now became very serious. The infantry were oppressed by superior force; and the cavalry making numerous charges were still obliged always to return without effecting any more service than the destruction of several battalions and the advanced squadrons: some infantry and cannon marched in line with the French cavalry and presented an irresistible strength.

As the plain expanded the French deployed more cannon. Prince Bagrathion had orders to retire under the position: but in doing this three battalions of his chasseurs suffered most considerably and the whole advanced guard sustained a great loss from the disparity of force. But the enemy did not achieve his success with impunity and he was obliged to throw forward continually fresh troops.

The enemy having now advanced under the guns of our position was received with a most tremendous discharge; and the cavalry charged but failed in part.

The French infantry moved forward in heavy columns but were so mowed by the grape and musketry that they were obliged to retire. It was now nine o'clock at night, and Buonaparte—as we are told—drawing his sword commanded Oudinot's division of grenadiers to storm the advanced battery. They

bravely marched forward and carried the work with three guns still left in it; notwithstanding that above forty pieces of cannon were playing upon them. It was a critical moment. The position was menaced and the whole army endangered. Prince Gortschakow with his division advanced with the bayonet and shouts of *huzzu!* The French grenadiers were driven back in the greatest disorder and with them two supporting corps of the French army. The Russians pursued their success and moved forward a thousand yards, until their right flank touched upon the small wood behind which the enemy had formed their columns of attack.

It was now past ten o'clock, and quite dark; but the flashes that accompanied the thunder of the cannon and the rolling of the musketry, illumined the whole visible arena. So awful a scene, so grand, and so peculiar, is perhaps without a parallel in history. It surpassed all that I had ever read of or witnessed and rendered all that I had seen of inferior consideration. About half-past ten the French were heard to cry along the line "*Arrêter le combat;*" but it was eleven o'clock at night before the heavy firing of the cannon and musketry ceased. Their peals were succeeded by the groans of the wounded, but no aid could be offered. Masters of the field the Russians had yet sufficient work to do to prepare for the morrow without attending to the dictates of humanity.

What a solemn night! I passed it with Platow who during the battle had crossed the river. Torrents of rain fell and yet we slept: but I uncomfortably; for the old man rested his head on me

which gave the cramp to my arms and hands;* and at last we were quite slushed in the mire. During the cannonade I met Lord Hutchinson and Eustace. A shell fell under Lord H.'s horse, and burst, a part striking Eustace's arm but without doing more injury than leaving a mark. Lord H., thinking his horse wounded threw himself off; and I dismounted to aid him, thinking him wounded. The bullets ploughed around us, for we had got into the line of one of the enemy's batteries: but happily we passed the ordeal without injury; and as night had then closed, I persuaded Lord H. to go to the other side of the river and remain till morning as in the darkness he had much to apprehend from being mistaken for a Frenchman. He adopted my counsel and thus was saved probably from a dangerous illness; for he could not have supported a drenching rain as well as other inconveniences.

The next morning at day-dawn the two armies were seen drawn up at long cannon-shot distance in battle array, and the rising sun beaming upon the arms gave beauty to the scene. But, Almighty God! what a spectacle did the field of battle exhibit!—a spectacle, I will venture to say, never exhibited before in the encounters of armies.

During the night the dead and wounded had been stripped, and several thousand naked bodies covered the surface so close that a horse could scarcely be directed through without stepping upon a carcase; and such carcases! the greater part grenadiers—bodies of men of the finest mould that the fancy can

* Sir R. W. writes in a letter to Lady Wilson, "I could not find it in my heart to wake him by withdrawing, but bore it as I best could"—ED.

portray. French and Russians had despoiled friends and foes : but the French having encroached on property not belonging to them by the laws of war were regarded as trespassers, and several were made prisoners in the act of stripping their fallen comrades.

The eye sickened at the sight, and the heart could not but feel stricken as the wretched French wounded implored death as a relief from the passers-by : but many were doomed not to meet with succour perhaps even to this hour. I estimate, and I am certain without exaggeration, that this battle cost the French twelve thousand men and the Russians seven thousand ; the greater part of whom lay in a piece of land not above eighteen acres in length by one in depth. But no description can give an adequate idea of the scene ; and the only representation that I can recall at all similar is a painting of the Deluge as the waters retired, by a master whose name I now forget but who had contrived to group on a very small piece of canvas the corpses of a hundred persons.

Till ten o'clock both armies continued under arms and the tirailleurs in front of the lines kept up a smart fire : the cannon also played from each side as the columns moved within reach to take up their ground. But at ten the French who had shown a force of about eighty thousand men, began to fall back ; and afterwards several of their columns were seen in movement through the wood upon their right, directing themselves on the road to Landsberg.

It now appeared that the enemy, unable to fight the Russians, determined to gain their position by manœuvre and perhaps take Königsberg by a *coup de main*. General Beningsen therefore instead of at-

tacking the corps of Ney and of Davoust which still remained to watch the Russians, finally resolved to withdraw himself; and he detached General Kamenskoi with nine thousand men to gain Königsberg if possible before the enemy. The main army began to defile about eight o'clock at night, and the whole were to have been off the ground before midnight; but at daybreak three divisions of the army had still to pass the bridges at Heilsberg.

As I remained with Platow who had the rear-guard I became very uneasy; but the enemy did not move, being afraid I presume to hazard another combat. At about six o'clock the Cossacks were enabled to cross the bridges. Platow, and of course his suite, remained until the whole or the most advanced had passed: and afterwards assisted many of the wounded to get away and destroyed all the magazines at Heilsberg; so that nothing was left the enemy but their horrible mass of dead and wounded, with some Russians who had lost limbs and could not be removed.

When the French *yägers* appeared finally on the hills and opened their fire Platow directed the first bridge to be broken down: then he saw the second and afterwards the third destroyed before he mounted his horse.

As I was anxious to get to Bartenstein, where my baggage had been left, I went on there and found Lord Hutchinson. We all crowded in our former quarters with the addition of Harvey. The day was bad, the prospect was gloomy, and we were all melancholy. Who would not be so to see such brave men as the Russians, victorious in their combats, deprived of their honour by the imbecility of the council which directs their operations? Who could refrain from feeling for

them as a brother after having experienced so much more than common fraternal kindness? Who must not deplore as a well-wisher to Europe the blood that has been so gloriously but unserviceably shed? And what Englishman can but feel shame that his country has abandoned so loyal and illustrious an ally as Alexander and the Russian nation?

But there is no utility in reproaches. The case is now desperate; and every thought must be directed to avert the evil menacing us by the stratagems of a cunning enemy, who although wielding a force one-third more powerful than our own does not dare to put the cause at issue in the field.

Fortunately for us Lestocq intercepted a courier with instructions, directing General Victor to attack him on every point and then march direct to Königsberg. This providential capture may be as important as that made at Nehrunen by which Bernadotte was prevented from marching twenty-four hours, which contributed much to our success at Preussisch Eylau. If Lestocq with his twelve thousand, and Kamenskoi with his nine thousand reach Königsberg, all may yet be well; and Buonaparte may be baffled in his plans as well as defeated in his arms.

They say in Russia, "The God of Russia is a mighty God and a watchful Guardian." May He now not forsake them! They have merited more than heretofore His protection and I repose in Him with confidence; and under Him on the brave warriors who are resolved rather to shed their blood in their country's cause than abandon her cause with dishonour.

We marched this morning, or rather during the night, from Bartenstein to this place, twelve English

miles. At two o'clock we march for Friedland fifteen German miles further. The roads have been very bad in consequence of heavy rain yesterday; but the brave troops keep up their spirits and are impatient to meet the enemy. They have now been told that they are not making a retreat but marching to oppose Buonaparte again, who hopes to wear out by artifice those whom he cannot conquer by force. The fatigue is, however, excessive for us all.

Amongst those who fell on the 10th I lost an excellent friend and Russia a valuable officer, General Rossen, of the dragoons. Two generals were killed, four wounded; a great number of other officers *hors de combat*. We have not learnt the French loss; but an officer this day tells us on his own knowledge that Murat is wounded. Two standards are taken: one of them belongs to Oudinot's grenadiers. This is a glorious trophy.

A French colonel deserted to us yesterday. He was a friend of Moreau. We are all anxious for tidings from Lestocq and Kamenskoi.

Polpitten, June 16, 1807.

Alas! Those days have passed when the Io pæan of victory swelled the heart; and the enemy of the world has achieved a success by the unpardonable faults of his opponents that has put him in possession of the trophies of the battle of Preussisch Eylau. But I will not interrupt the order of relation; and I shall endeavour to detail the circumstances with regularity and as they occurred.

We marched to Friedland on the evening of the 12th; and on the road were informed that a body of

the enemy had in the morning reached that town, but were driven out by the Russian cavalry with some loss. We therefore went in, got a quarter and were preparing some tea when General Beningsen stopped on horseback at the door and told us to mount and leave the town immediately. Tired as we were this notice was disagreeable: but self-preservation reconciled us and we re-crossed the Aller, where we remained with General Beningsen in a shoemaker's cabin until a report was received that the advancing enemy had been checked and our posts occupied. We returned about eleven at night into the town and threw ourselves down to sleep, being nearly exhausted with fatigue.

The next fatal morning—the anniversary of the battle of Marengo—at four o'clock we were summoned to mount by the cannonade of the enemy commencing. General Beningsen had received information from the prisoners taken the evening before that Oudinot's division so shattered at Heilsberg was alone in his front, and he therefore determined to attack him. For this purpose he ordered a division to cross the Aller and form in front of the town.

The enemy at first showed a very small force but by degrees his resistance increased. Another division was ordered to pass the Aller by General Beningsen and he began to throw across three pontoon bridges. The determinate will of Providence for his destruction could alone, it may be thought, infatuate General Beningsen so far as to cause him to act in this manner. The position he was about to occupy was actually untenable; and he had reason moreover to expect an attack from Schippenbeil on the right

bank of the Aller. He was, therefore, choosing a position in which he must be forced to fight on both sides, while on neither could he act with vigour or defend himself on any military principles. But still he persevered: and dividing his forces found himself engaged in a serious battle against two corps of the French army, the division of Oudinot also and the division of Dombrowsky, when he had no object and could gain no real advantage."

In order to make the operations understood I will endeavour to describe the position.

The left was thrown upon the river but commanded by elevated ground in the enemy's line. On the right of the left was a deep ravine full of water breast high, over which there was only a small plank bridge raised by the Russians during the action. In front of the right was the village of Heinrichsberg, not occupied by either party at the commencement; and from thence to the river again were several small woods. The whole line formed the arc, and the town of Friedland extended along the Aller which may be called the chord. The arc might be two English miles in sweep, of which a mile and a half was covered by troops. The enemy possessed the woods which skirted the plain to the village in front of the Russian right. Towards the centre of the Russians the wood rather opened, and about a German mile distant was seen the steeple of Domnau.

The great advantages of their position were, that the right taking a position south-west flanked the whole of the Russian line; that their ground was elevated; and that the forest not only concealed their strength but to a very considerable degree covered

their troops from fire. They could not be attacked; and had the option of varying their movements, without being perceived until they chose to discover themselves.

The Russians also could not oppose above forty thousand men; for nine thousand had been detached with Kamenskoi, and about six thousand, among which was a regiment of guards, were sent to occupy Allenburg and other points. Two thousand cavalry had not arrived from the cantonments into which they had been sent to refresh. Forty thousand men therefore had to defend the two sides of the river and to maintain the fortunes of Europe: forty thousand gallant warriors but exhausted with fatigue, unfed for twenty-four past hours, and during the long battle afterwards without any sustenance.

After a heavy cannonade and sustained musketry fire, at about seven o'clock the enemy manœuvred to gain our right and the village in its front: twelve Russian squadrons were stationed near that point. Thirty French squadrons of cuirassiers charged down upon them and obliged them to fly. The Russian cannon and advancing columns of infantry checked their progress, and they retired out of fire in some confusion; but the enemy's chasseurs with several cannon possessed themselves during this attack of the village of Heinrichsberg, and opened from thence a battery. Soon afterwards a column of about two thousand five hundred advanced from the village in a very gallant manner. They were suffered to approach closely to the cannon when a great number played upon them with a most destructive fire; and not above one-third escaped back, pressed by the charging

Russian infantry who seized the eagle of the fifteenth regiment.

On all the other points of the line the enemy were repulsed, and about eleven o'clock they were evidently retreating; but from the town of Friedland a reinforcement was perceived to arrive, and instantly the enemy threw forward their swarms of tirailleurs and replaced their batteries. General Beningsen about twelve wished to throw forward his left upon the wood on the line of the enemy's right. The chasseurs of the guard were ordered to advance: they attacked gallantly killed several of the enemy and made some prisoners; but they could not long maintain themselves in the wood as the enemy's principal force advanced against them. They withdrew, however, only to a short distance and in great order. The Russian cavalry had manœuvred on the right to gain the rear of the enemy's left. Having succeeded they charged the French dragoons and cuirassiers stationed there who at first retired; but an officer was seen to order them to face about. They advanced—met the Russians—at first prevailed; but the Russian reserves coming up they were completely routed and left a mass of dead—chiefly cuirassiers.

So far all was successful. The enemy, foiled in every attack, engaged now only in a warm tirillade and fire of cannon, where they had the advantage from the ability of covering their troops; while the Russians stood erect, exposed from head to foot, and their lines under the same fire as their advanced chasseurs. Their conduct was nobly brave: but such an application of courage was an abuse and a massacre.

About five o'clock the French were seen to receive still larger reinforcements, and it since appears that Buonaparte had a little earlier arrived with his army. The Russians had lost near twelve thousand men. General Essen was wounded, also General Steingel: Baron Pahlen killed, seven or eight other generals killed or wounded, and an immense number of officers were slain or lying on the field disabled. Every regiment had passed the river as no attack had been made from that side; and when General Beningsen was told that the enemy were forming heavy columns on the left he had not a regiment in reserve: but he directed the centre to collect a little, and a few minutes before six and before the attack commenced he ordered the cavalry to form behind his centre. This order, however, did not reach the commanding general in time to be of service to repel the attack in the first instance.

After a combat of fourteen hours of the most fierce and sanguinary character, the French columns which had not been in fire started from the wood: at the same instant a battery of forty pieces of cannon played upon the Russian left, and throughout the line an immense artillery covered the approach. The chasseurs of the guard thrown forward without support felt conscious of their exposed station, and after firing a volley fled. The French advanced. The two regiments of guards unable to sustain the fire of artillery, rushed forward to the charge but without being collected. A *mêlée* ensued in which both sides fell in masses; but the French superiority of numbers was too great, and the Russians retired fighting to the bridge: they passed it and then set fire to it and the town.

The centre under General Doctorow had resisted the attack, but being now outflanked were obliged to retire; and would have been destroyed but that three regiments of Russian cavalry charged, destroyed two battalions, and secured the retreat of their infantry, who passed the Aller by wading through breast high (where the pontoon bridges were in the morning), notwithstanding that the enemy were in the town. The right wing consisting of cavalry also passed, chiefly *à la nage*. The scene of confusion was great beyond imagination. About an English mile on the other side the general succeeded in rallying five thousand men in front of a wood; but the enemy did not dare to pass the river and advance. During the night the Russians retired to Allenburg and then to Wehlau; but what will appear most extraordinary is that they carried with them every standard and gun, except nineteen, part of which were thrown into the river when the destruction of the bridges was discovered; so that, however important the victory may be in its consequences to the enemy, the actual military trophies are but few.

The loss of the Russians is not ascertained: very few prisoners are made from the desperation of both parties. I should calculate that the loss is not less than twenty thousand, but the quantity of infantry which passed the river yesterday surprised me. The French loss must also have been enormous and this is certainly one of the bloodiest triumphs ever obtained.

Never did troops behave better than the Russians. In no action did they ever acquire more honour: and no troops in Europe probably would have sustained the fire, which they sustained for sixteen hours, with

such an heroic indifference to death as has not only exhibited but immortalized the indomitable spirit of their patriotism. These too are the sentiments of Lord Hutchinson. Never was an army so cruelly sacrificed by the most wicked ignorance : and although Buonaparte with a superiority of above forty thousand men has gained the day, he has only had the fortune to profit by the faults of his enemy. He showed no talent; and had there only been a reserve of forty pieces of cannon and four thousand men he would have been more seriously defeated than at Preussisch Eylau. Nay; had Beningsen but acted as he ought to have done he would still have saved the day; but he seemed physically as well as morally imbecile on this occasion : as if heaven had resolved to range its influence against Russia. The detachment made by Beningsen during the action of six thousand men to Allenburg seems to suggest that the loss of the battle was determined by some extraordinary agency : for no human folly could have been so great as to direct this counsel.

The army reached Wehlau early in the morning and defiled the whole day over the bridge; still without nourishment and having made a march of twenty-five miles. Towards evening an alarm was given that the French were in the town. The fact was that a patrol appeared near the bridge on the Aller; for there at Wehlau is the confluence of the Aller and the Pregel. The smoking of the bridge set on fire by the Russians confirmed the report; hundreds of waggons, led horses, cavalry, infantry, wounded men, &c., rushed to the bridge through these different avenues and choked the road. It was a scene of

horrible tumult. I had foreseen the disorder and besought General Beningsen twice during the day to place some officer at the end of the bridge to regulate the passage, which had been retarded in the course of it by the most improper confusion. The weak old man had seen and acknowledged the necessity but could not have firmness to give the order.

I now forced my way to the barrier with Prince Dolgoroucky ; and drawing our swords, we compelled a momentary halt. Some Cossacks supported us, and we let down the barrier and would not suffer an individual to go by, until the bridge, which was a very long one stretching over marshy land, was quite clear. We then permitted a gradual progress ; and in the course of an hour the whole town was freed without any accident or loss. The French did not advance however, although several squadrons came close ; but the Cossacks swimming the Aller higher up came on their rear and killing several men made several prisoners. The rear-guard—alas! *now*—remained in front of the town all night ; but we did not sleep in it. The head-quarters, Lord Hutchinson, &c., went to a château a mile distant. At twelve o'clock we lay down on the floor. At two we mounted again and have come here, twenty miles ; for Beningsen is resolved to kill by fatigue his surviving troops and render that a flight which might have been an orderly retreat. He seems determined to ruin an army by disgrace and capture individually, which had only been injured by an honourable loss in battle.

Kamenskoi and Lestocq united at Peterswalde in front of Königsberg : here they were attacked by the

enemy ; but succeeded, to the shame of Buonaparte as a general, in reaching that town.

The enemy made three assaults, but were repulsed with great loss. They then sent to Lestocq offering him liberty to retire, which he refused ; but orders were sent to him last night to leave the city and retire on Tapiau to join us.

I am sick—quite sick with grief and vexation :—and when I think that to Beningsen's folly must be added my own country's humiliation, my heart utterly fails me. I fear she will pay dearly for her relinquishment of her duty and neglect of her continental alliances. As for Austria I hope Vienna will be sacked.

Buonaparte has passed the Pregel beyond Tapiau ; which is evacuated, as is Königsberg. We are anxious for Lestocq. The Baschirs are arrived to succour us with their bows and arrows ! Of such defenders Europe does not stand in need nor is the occasion fitting. The new divisions are, however, on the march, and Beningsen has just said that he will resume the offensive in future days—but this is childish.

I have not yet said anything of myself but I escaped all perils with my usual fortune. The fatigue, however, has been excessive. On the 14th I was twenty-one hours on horseback. I have only undressed once since the 1st of June and have never slept with my boots off. I am meagred to a skeleton ; my nose is broiled to flaming heat, and I am suffering the greatest inconvenience from the loss of my baggage which I fear the enemy have taken with my servant at Königsberg.

Tilsit, June 18, 1807

We arrived here yesterday, but the head-quarters

will not come in until this day. It was supposed that we should retire instantly across the Memel, but Beningsen has this morning ordered back the cannon which had passed the bridge. There is in the town the greatest possible confusion from the baggage-waggons, &c., crowding to gain the bridge: and although the preservation of this army is so necessary not even a sentinel is placed to regulate movement; so that there is much danger from the presence and the whipping in of the waggoners. All this would be amusing at the opera but not on the frontier of Russia. The emperor had gone from hence to Wilneria before the account of the battle of Friedland arrived. The king is at Memel. There is a strong rumour of peace. For my own part I am of opinion that if Beningsen retains the command the emperor will finally lose his throne. But this remark I make in perfect confidence; and I should not choose it to be quoted. Lestocq has joined.

Memel, June 22, 1807.

On the 19th the army defiled all day and night across the bridge of the Memel, and a most unparalleled quantity of baggage passed; particularly that of the Prussian corps of Lestocq. The column was passing forty hours altogether, and for the last thirty in an uninterrupted succession. I was much surprised to see the infantry: they marched with as much vigour as if they had only been at exercise. During the day of the 19th a few cannon-shot were fired at some approaching French cavalry, which had the good effect of expediting the advance of the frightened squadrons. At night Lord H., &c., passed the bridge. I had been walking with Prince William

and on my return found that they had departed, and my Cossack did not know whither. I went with Mackenzie a little way in search, but not finding any traces of them we resolved to lie down and sleep until daybreak. This we did, although the night was cold and the rain bathed us.

Mackenzie had been at Tilsit some days. He gave me my letters; and I was happy to see him as he is a great friend of Woronzow's. In the morning we rode about a German mile and discovered Lord H. who had not passed a much better night than ourselves, but he had a roof over his head.

As the bridge of Tilsit was to be burnt next day, and the passage of such a river as the Memel is an operation that requires much time, particularly as connected with the more serious movement of the invasion of Russia, Lord H. determined to take advantage of the repose afforded to the army and go to Memel for a few days; distant sixty English miles.

The bridge being burnt we all went on our journey, for Lord Hutchinson requested that his brother and I would accompany him. This we did much against our inclination, for we preferred a residence at the Russian head-quarters under the existing circumstances for many public and private reasons. After a very tedious journey we arrived at Memel; and here we found all our old society increased by Lord Leveson Gower, Mr. Mildmay a son of Sir Henry, and Mr. Drummond Hay.

The king had gone to meet the emperor at Thauven in Russia. The queen remained until the French passed the river, not wishing to leave her country until the last moment.

Lord Hutchinson's despatches announced that his *mission diplomatique* had ceased at the request of Baron Jacobi, and that Mr. Frere was appointed minister to Prussia; but Lord H. was offered the choice of continuing military resident with the Russian army or of returning home. He chose the former, and if the war continues will return to the head-quarters: but in my opinion he would be very glad that there was no occasion for his journey; for he has not health for fatigues and privations which will be required of him.

Yesterday there was a prevailing report of an armistice: but I do not believe it; and as the English have at last sent troops, I am in hopes that Russia will not be so humiliated as to make peace at the present moment.

I have been diligently employed to counteract the influence of others; being satisfied that he advises ill who would counsel dishonour in preference to some anxieties. Under this impression I have written to the emperor, Baron Hardenberg, Novosilzow, and Count Strogonow. This correspondence may appear very presumptuous; but in fact it is not so in the existing state of affairs and from my relations with these personages. At all events I am satisfied that I have acted rightly, and therefore I care not who says I did wrong.

General Clinton went away yesterday morning. I lamented that I could not in time finish my letters, as I wished him to read the one destined for Canning; since he was charged with the most melancholy opinions presented by a mind always gloomy. The writer makes use now of the darkest tele-

scope, as suited to his temperament and his optical powers.

In the morning we all went to the Countess de Voss', whom we found blooming as usual and not depressed by, although properly feeling, the public misfortune.

The Queen, Princess William, and Princess Louisa, came into the room and we all paid our homage.

Colonel Sontag and I dined with the queen, and met Prince Henry and the Prince of Orange. After dinner, we rode to a garden about three miles off, where we drank tea. The queen was mounted on a beautiful horse, and is one of the best horsewomen I ever saw as she not only sits gracefully but has a master's hand. She was dressed in the hussar uniform—purple and gold—and it became her much.

On our return we went to her apartments where Lord Gower, Mildmay, Drummond, and Harvey joined us.

I could not but admire the resolution of this sovereign when she spoke on public matters. Would to God that her spirit might animate those whose will is to decide the destinies of Europe! "A cottage with independence in preference to a palace under the conditions of slavery," is the sentiment of this princess; and over her spirit Buonaparte can never gain a triumph.

Lord Leveson Gower went to the emperor yesterday. I believe the royal residence will finally be established at Mittau, but I do not know whether Louis XVIII. will remain there.

I have just learned that Beningsen sent to propose an armistice; and that the nephew of Talleyrand was sent to discuss the subject. The first terms were, the sur-

render of Colberg, Pillau, and Graudenz, in hostage: the armistice to continue two months; the first month no military movement to be made; the second month all preparation for hostility to be allowed. Some obstacles arising it was determined to treat at once for peace, but the three fortresses were still to be resigned to the French as a preliminary. The emperor's ratification being required, the armistice was in the first instance signed for three days. The emperor and the king have left Thauven, and are gone to Tauroghen near Tilsit, there to decide this solemn subject. God give them wisdom and courage! but I fear His favouring Providence has forsaken Europe.

The officers, it is true, are weary of a war which has been so ill-conducted that victory produced only disaster; but their spirit would revive if they were placed under a more worthy chief.

June 23.—In the evening Lord Leveson Gower returned, having learned that the emperor and king had left Thauven on their way to Tauroghen. I consider his absence from the emperor at the present moment very unfortunate. I would have gone down to the army again this day but Lord H. would not suffer it. I have now scarcely a hope that the emperor can resist the pacific party.

June 26.—The news of the armistice is confirmed, and the negotiation for peace between Russia, Prussia, and France continues incessantly. Buonaparte has earnestly solicited an interview: but the Emperor of Russia, desirous of avoiding this painful meeting, has declined to recognize him as emperor except by an article in the treaty of peace if concluded. Buonaparte

wished artfully to obtain that recognition gratis by the stratagem of an interview.

Thus matters stood yesterday : but I will not affirm that they will continue so favourable to Russia ; for from what we hear the pacific party have great predominance, and there is a strong inclination to make peace with France even at the expense of war with other neighbours. I trust that this account of Russian policy is exaggerated, and that the emperor will not yield to such influence if the attempt be made to shackle him.

I wrote to Strogonow the day before yesterday that "if he and his friends had any honour they would not permit an interview with Buonaparte ; since no circumstance could more degrade their sovereign and their country than such a humiliation."

The fortresses are not surrendered ; and on the contrary Graudenz is to be provisioned during the cessation of arms with its daily consumption. Tolstoy also, instead of withdrawing behind the Memel, is to keep the line of the Bobr and Narew ; which is a very important security for Russian Poland.

I cannot ascertain, nor can any of us, why Buonaparte yielded his demand so readily. This, however, is always to be remembered, that the French army demand peace ; and there must be some very extraordinary force in action that could induce the troops to bear the disappointment of their hopes without the exhibition of dangerous discontent.

I do not know whether a camp life is necessary for my happiness, but I certainly feel that all the comforts of an ambassador's establishment, regular repose, and courtly society, are not so agreeable as they were pre-

viously to my campaigning with Russians ; and I would prefer my Cossack bivouac to the good town of Memel.

We pay our court every morning, and pass our evenings at the house of one or other of the royal family where the whole assemble. But although they are very agreeable personages, there are not in this society sufficient *agréments* to fill our time without an opening for *ennui* : and the gloomy aspect of affairs prevents imaginary pleasures in prospect.

For the last forty-eight hours there has been a hurricane, and all the vessels in the roads were obliged to cut and bear away. The weather is now moderating and they are returning. Among the number is the *Astræa*—repaired and beautified as I am told—but she will never charm me on board of her again.

June 26, 1807.

We have this instant received intelligence that Buonaparte succeeded in his project, and that the emperor and the king met him on a flying bridge on the Memel on which bridge a hut was erected. The sovereigns remained together half an hour. The Grand Duke, General Beningsen, Duroc, Kalkreuth, and some others came then into the apartment and the conversation continued an hour, when the sovereigns *embraced* and amicably parted. It is also added that on gaining the opposite banks the sovereigns again took off their hats and waved a salute.

How lamentably ridiculous !

Not a month ago I heard the emperor at a public table speak of Buonaparte as a madman and a tyrant, and give him all the other appellations which his con-

duct merits. How false is royalty! How disloyal to itself!

No communication has yet been made to the English ambassador, so I presume that England at present has no voice : but I suppose that she will be invited to join in a general peace if the common interests render such a measure agreeable.

I now foresee the possibility of many unpleasant events ; but I will not be a croaking prophet. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

This I am afraid is certain, that the queen must see Buonaparte. She never can forgive her injuries, or in heart unite with France. I should imagine that in a few hours there will be some orders respecting the society she is to keep in future ; and I should not be astonished if we all received a hint to depart.

Memel, June 28.

Harvey had scarcely left Memel on the 26th when Mackenzie arrived, and brought accurate accounts of the proceedings of the dishonoured Emperor of Russia and Buonaparte.

The King of Prussia did not go on board at the first interview : and instead of half an hour the duumvirate were three hours together, during which time the grand duke, Beningsen, Duroc, &c., were in open boats ; and in a heavy rain, which also drenched to the skin the King of Prussia who awaited on the shore the return of the emperor. He was there altogether four hours.

The boats conveying the emperor and Buonaparte started at the same instant ; but Buonaparte reached the bridge first and received the emperor with his

hat off, bending as low as possible. He then almost immediately took the emperor by the arm, and they retired to a corner of the bridge until the rain forced them into the shed erected for this purpose. On their coming out they seemed mutually pleased, and the Emperor of Russia was observed to have a very different air from that which he had when going to the interview. Such is the force of flattery! On retiring Buonaparte gained the shore first and his troops saluted him with their huzzas. The Russians greeted their emperor in the same manner. Prince Tubiskoy coming from the emperor a few minutes after his return said, "Prussia is to have all her country restored." Buonaparte told the emperor also, "There is nothing that I can refuse you; but as we have settled the pacific basis we must have diplomatic men for the inferior arrangements, since otherwise your majesty might induce me to concede all that belongs to France."

Such were the *dramatis personæ* at this mournful farce.

Prince Murat conversed much, and praised himself, the French, and the Russian cavalry. Buonaparte was civil to Beningsen; said he was glad to see him on friendly terms rather than in the *méchant* mood in which they had so frequently met; spoke of his losses at Heilsberg which he stated at twelve thousand men; and said that he was very angry with his cavalry that day, as they not only refused to charge but executed every order ill: and he expressed surprise at the resistance of the Russians, which he avowed he had not expected. He moreover was astonished at finding that the Russian army was not all at Friedland;

since he was, as he pretended, assured of their whole force being present by the almost unparalleled obstinacy of the fight.

Beningsen pretends that Buonaparte sent to demand the first conference. This is certain; that when the Russian officer went to Tilsit the French troops thronged round him shouting "Vive la paix!" and an officer coming up said—"Let us have no more war: if our emperors will fight let them fight together and kill each other."

A speech of Beningsen's, however, is more remarkable. He said the same day at dinner "The two emperors have shaken hands; Europe has cause to tremble."

Soon afterwards he said, "Louis XVIII. has a merry prospect!" And this irony comes from a general who but a few days since sent for Buonaparte's accredited minister: and who has been in the daily habit of accusing him of all crimes, and counselling the forfeiture of his life as an atonement and the only means of restoring tranquillity to Europe.

Six o'clock

Infamy is piled upon infamy; "Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte," as I have written this day to Woronzow. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia have had another interview on the 26th with the usurper! have dined with him, broken bread with him! And the emperor—"I have horror when I write"—passed over to Tilsit and slept under the protection of Buonaparte and the French guards! What, in the counsels of the Almighty, can be the purpose of this human degradation? What foul offence can have merited such retribution? Yes! there is *one* that

“smells rank to heaven.” Who went with Alexander to assist at his shame? *Who, but the assassins of his father?* Cherished by him they have linked his fate with their own, and with that of the murderer of the Duc d’Enghien, of Pichégru, and of the garrison of Jaffa! Honoured by him, they have prostituted the fame of their benefactor to the vilest uses of humiliation!

Various rumours are afloat—all credible since the late incredible acts. The principal is a *hostile speech of Alexander’s relative to England*. I hope it is not true. I would fain believe that a wicked influence has not so soon prevailed. But England has nought to fear from such changelings, even if he meditates hostility. *She has done wrong*, but her cause becomes hallowed when she is unjustly attacked.

It is said that Buonaparte is to pay his visit to the queen at Memel: this is probable. I dined at her table with Lord Gower this day. She seemed conscious that this misfortune was hovering over her: and several of the ladies were in deep affliction when the subject was privately mentioned, for all patriotism and honour has in Prussia sought refuge among the women.

What a lesson these proceedings afford to princes and to mankind! How necessary for the honour of sovereigns is it that ministers should be not only *honest* but *brave*! Had Alexander but been master of the heart of *one* noble friend, he would have preferred, from his own notions of honour and his own heart’s goodness, to meet the steel of the demi-barbarian who menaced death, rather than wrap himself and his country in the eternal darkness of shame. But he

had not one friend and he has fallen a victim : to be pitied by few and to be despised by all. No acquisitions can save his reputation—lost to the latest period of time.

June 29, 1807

In the evening we went to Princess Radzivil's, but I was not in very good humour with the world.

Lord Gower received an official notice that the emperor and King of Prussia were treating for peace. * * * * * and Count Golz are the negotiators. The former would yield half Russia for peace so I expect no good from him. He is an excellent fellow as a companion, but has no patriotic energy.

The emperor remains at Tilsit with Buonaparte. A regiment of Russians has passed over the Memel to form his guard. Yesterday the French manoeuvred before him. I do not know what corps but I believe the guards. Here all is degradation. I hope there is yet some noble feeling in Moscow.

The Marquis de la Riviera arrived this day. He states that accounts are received of a successful insurrection in Italy ; and that King Joseph has been made prisoner by the lazzaroni, who surrendered him to the Prince of Philipsthal. I wonder that they did not hang the usurper as a reprisal for Fra Diavolo and the other Calabrian chiefs.

We read accounts of the ill success in Egypt. There seems to have been in the first enterprise most culpable ignorance. Government, however, was much to blame for not employing officers who knew the country. Frazer, Wauchope, Stuart, were never before in Egypt, and Meade but a short time. If government will not prefer experience where they

have a choice, they should be responsible for the disasters that ensue. The French expedition should have taught them an useful lesson on this subject.

I have just been sending back to Platow, with a letter containing my sentiments on the present proceedings, Gregory my faithful Cossack. I really feel great regret on this occasion, and his affectionate leave rendered him still more an object of regard. His integrity, attachment, courage and unaffected goodness are not common qualities in mankind ; and I shall rarely find his comrade.

July 1, 1807.

Yesterday there was a royal party to dine in the country. I was invited, but declined to accompany them ; I was so distressed and unhappy that I should have been bad society. I heard afterwards of a very ridiculous incident. Lord * * * was making himself very amiable when a sudden gust of wind blowing off his hat and wig discovered a bald pate, and deranged the whole entertainment by the painful restriction which politeness imposed upon the risible nerves of the spectators for the rest of the evening.

A Captain Alison came this evening from Tilsit, where he had seen—"horresco referens"—the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparte walking arm-in-arm together in familiar conversation ; and French sentinels at the doors of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who both lived in the town of Tilsit. But yesterday a battalion of Prince Henry's regiment, and the prince himself, went from hence to do duty over the king : so I presume that a battalion of Russian guards is also admitted for the service of Alexander ; unless he fears that his pretorian bands

should avenge the insult that he has offered his empire and country by fraternization with Buonaparte.

Captain Alison is an Irishman, and came over as he says to see the Russians. He has, according to his own account, been well recompensed by his journey to Tilsit for the trouble and expense of the voyage. He boasts of having seen four crowned heads since the 29th of May, but he includes George III. in the exhibition: He passed the bridge, entered the town of Tilsit without molestation, remained two hours, during which time he saw, besides the emperor, several of the French chiefs; particularly Murat, whom he describes as being dressed more sumptuously than he had ever seen: and he adds that his horses were the most magnificently caparisoned. Buonaparte remarked a stick which Captain Alison carried in his hand: this made him fear that he should be addressed and probably arrested so he quietly withdrew.

During his visit at Tilsit, he spoke with several French officers, who asked him where the English officers were who had been serving with the Russian army; and they named us individually, specially stating that I had been in Egypt. So their masters cannot be ignorant of my neighbourhood.

The three sovereigns meet daily in the room on the bridge where the first interview took place, and remain together near two hours in close conference. If one may calculate the state of politics from physiognomy it is said that the King of Prussia's denotes dissatisfaction as to the proposed arrangements; and I strongly suspect that Poland is the subject of discord.

This morning the good news was received from Vienna, officially, of Sultan Selim being deposed by

the Janissaries, and his nephew Mustapha taken from prison and enthroned. The ostensible ground was the investiture of Sebastiani with the Star of the Legion of Honour at the request of Buonaparte. The Janissaries thought this act a degradation not to be forgiven; and more particularly as Selim persisted in the introduction of European discipline. It is added, but not officially, that Sebastiani has been murdered. It is certain that the French officers are all sent away.

Had Alexander not fraternized with Buonaparte this change at the Porte would have been most advantageous to the common welfare, since peace with Russia and England would then have been certain. But I now fear that the *modern* Alexander and Buonaparte will make the insurrection a plea for seizing upon Turkey. In that case Austria and the Turks may be our allies against France and Russia; but this will be rather an unequal contest.

We have further news also of the insurrection in Italy; and some insist that the usurper Joseph is seized by the lazzaroni. Had Russia but carried on the war, in ten days more what a change would have been effected by all these diversions in her favour! What an irreparable loss would have been avoided!

Matters may yet wear a better aspect. They can never, however, be so favourable as they were before the transmigration of the *late* Emperor of Russia: for the *modern* emperor can never enjoy the confidence or esteem of Europe.

The wind, for the first time these fourteen days, is fair and the weather moderate; an opportunity for England therefore offers.

It is singular, that a fortnight since Lord Gower should have expedited a despatch announcing the death of Sultan Selim: whereas the real event only occurred on the 29th of May.

There is no further notice of a visit to Memel by Buonaparte; but I make no doubt he will send for the queen, as he has expressed the most ardent curiosity to see her.

Yesterday an order was received from the French army for a supply of provisions from Memel. It is not known who is to pay for them!

There is no intelligence of an expedition having yet arrived in the Baltic.

July 2, Memel.

The weather being very fine on the 20th of June, the queen proposed a party to the *Astræa* lying off five miles in the roads. The party went in two boats. I rowed part of the way in the queen's boat, an exercise I have lately been taking and of which my hands will long bear the marks, as they are laid bare over the whole of both palms. In our boat, besides the queen, were the Princesses William and Louisa, Prince William, the Prince of Orange, Lord Gower, Captain Dunbar, and Jackson. In the second boat were several maids of honour, the royal children, some Prussian officers, and Eustace.

The *Astræa* was, to me, a very interesting sight. The cabin, the pumps, the deck, and the faces of many of my companions, reminded me of the most awful event in my whole life; and thought was very busy while we remained on board.

The sea was very smooth, but over the bar was a little swell which made the queen feel indisposed.

We returned to shore about ten o'clock. As the evening was very fine the scene was delightful, and it was enlivened by most of the ships saluting as we passed. The flame and the sound of the cannon awakened the recollection of the battle of Heilsberg. That battle exceeded in grandeur anything that I had yet seen or imagined.

Yesterday morning, in consequence of a letter from General Budberg to Lord L. Gower of rather an unsatisfactory nature, Mackenzie was directed to be in readiness for despatches to England.

General Korf arrived in the course of the day, and we deplored together the evil of the late measures as affecting the honour of Alexander and Russia. I also received a letter from * * * * * in which he denies any part in the same counsels, and laments them; so that he is restored entirely to my esteem.

In the evening Princess Radzivil gave tea; and afterwards we were shown, from an accidental introduction, the jewels, trinkets, &c., of the queen, which were very costly rare and elegant. The diamonds were very numerous and remarkably fine.

Some Baschirs, sent at the king's request, also amused us with their appearance and strange singing; which is perhaps unique in the world. They make their voices sound so exactly like wind instruments that a stander-by who did not look at their faces could not distinguish the difference. One of the Baschirs had a steel cap on his head; and a chain coat of mail, which covered his arms and dropped to his loins.

We are this day going to see them shoot with bows and arrows.

July 4—Yesterday was Prince William's birthday, and there was a morning levée at his house followed by a collation.

The queen gave a state dinner. After dinner we all went to drink tea in a wood about three miles from hence. The queen rode on horseback to the place. The Princesses Louisa and William went in carriages. A numerous suite followed desiring to see the exhibition of the Baschirs. they shot at a target, but extremely ill, as the mark was brought too near from fear of the arrows being lost in the wood. This fear restricted the Baschirs in drawing their bows to the point necessary for precision; and the arrows did not fly with sufficient force to overcome the resistance of the air, according to the estimate of their experience at a longer range. When, however, they gave the highest elevation the arrow went with a remarkable velocity and to an undistinguishable height.

After drinking tea, &c., in the presence of a very considerable crowd the queen mounted her horse, but as the evening became cold she soon went into her carriage.

Mildmay and I left the road to ride on some turf. We were galloping at speed when an unfortunate marais received my horse; he floundered, fell on his nose, and rolled over. I was thrown several yards, but fell on soft ground and was instantly on my legs. My horse having broken his bridle in my hands started away, and with great difficulty I recovered him. I returned to the queen's house decked with mud; but as my horse was seen to fall I did not appear as a dishonoured cavalier.

The Baschirs were now placed at supper: they ate

and drank like other people, which seemed to astonish everybody. All, however, admitted that they might claim pre-eminence for good manners over the civilized spectators. Indeed in common with the rest of the Asiatic nations these people have a natural elegance, which nine-tenths of the best-educated young men of the most polished countries in Europe can never attain.

We all soon retired; and to my astonishment I then learnt that the queen was at seven o'clock this morning to set off to meet the king, in order to receive Buonaparte's visit.

This is the consummation of infamy; but I need not anathematize. The degeneracy of character among sovereigns is a subject for silent reflection rather than for declamation. There is something, however, more than degeneracy in a mind with whose force and delicacy we were acquainted, in the circumstances of the present sacrifice; and the conductor not the victim is the object for our reproach.

Burke might well say, "The age of chivalry is past."

This morning Lord H., Kit, and Bathurst, embarked on board the *Astræa* for Carlscrona. Sontag was seized during the night with a fit of the gout, and could not accompany them. Lord H. purposes to return within the week; and then we are to set out on our journey to Riga, Moscow, S. Petersburg and Stockholm, from whence we shall proceed to England. Lord H. has convinced us all that we ought not to quit the North without having made this tour of really interesting observation: and as the grandes will

not have returned to S. Petersburg before we pass through, we shall have no concern about those matters which at first raised in our imaginations obstacles of magnitude.

Bommel, Russian Head-quarters, July 8.

The evening of the 5th we passed agreeably with Princess Radzivil. Lord Gowër, Stewart, the Prince of Orange, and I, were the male party. This lady is certainly one of the most accomplished women in Europe; and had nature but been kind as to personal attractions she would have been one of the most celebrated in the world. As I have before observed, she is the first woman I ever saw who fascinated irresistibly without the charm of beauty; who enchanted the mind without moving the passions. She exhibits great good sense and large information, without the slightest trespass beyond the bounds of her sex's delicacy; without the revolting hermaphrodisy of the "blue stocking."

On the 6th in the morning, I went with Mildmay in his barouche from Memel to visit my friends at the army; as I had received from several a most pressing request, and an *intimation which induced me to waive some scruples*. We travelled without incident to Hiedekrug. The country between Memel and this village, thirty miles, was very barren; but there were many little encampments of artillery, peasants carrying provisions, Baschirs, Cossacks, &c., which presented some picturesque features.

At Hiedekrug with some difficulty we obtained a room, and were at last received by a man who informed us that as inspector of excise he was exonerated from all billeting; but I told him that

"might overcome right," and that from the Rhine to his cottage privileges were no longer respected. This seemed very much to astonish and mortify him, as he imagined that even the French would have respected his dignity.

The next morning we proceeded to this place and my heart much misgave me as I approached, for *the suspicion of others had almost tempted me to credit the insincerity of my brave and honourable friends.* But I had no sooner reached the head-quarters than I was received with a welcome which dissipated every apprehension, and compelled me to confess to myself with shame that I had wronged even by a doubt the Russian fidelity.

Ouwarrow, &c., were the first I saw. Many ladies were present, among whom were Madame Ouwarrow and Madame Beningsen. All were Poles and therefore spoke French perfectly well. They were very well dressed too in English costume; except that Madame Ouwarrow wore an abominable French cap tied on her cheek, which I never could bear the sight of in England.

General Beningsen had been to the emperor at Tilsit. On his return he received me with the greatest kindness as did Prince Bagrathion. Every one seemed gratified that I had not abandoned them without a farewell. The grand duke, however, passing by did not seem to notice me with a pleasing regard. He is perhaps conscious or I may be too suspicious.

After dinner, Mildmay and I walked from Bommel to the river-side opposite Tilsit, four miles distant: I must write, although I would fain not remember the incident, that during dinner the queen passed on

her way to dine with the emperor and Buonaparte. I have heard of Iphigenia but she was a victim to a god. To what has this queen been sacrificed?

I could not but admire the general indignation which every Russian expressed as the melancholy procession passed. "C'est une bassesse impardonnable" was the universal cry: and I could now ascertain that Buonaparte has made peace but that he has not seduced the generous loyalty of the Russians.

Before I went on my walking excursion I despatched an estafette *with some important intelligence to General Beningsen relative to the conditions of the peace*. I think it ought to induce Lord Gower to send a messenger to England and Vienna; this he probably will do as hours may be of infinite consequence.

Having reached the banks of the Memel I there saw the Baschirs' and Platow's encampment. On the river was the flying bridge, and the fatal house erected on it wherein the first interview took place. The opposite shore was lined with French and Russians and several French officers were on this side of the river. The whole scene was like a series of magical illusions.

While we were on the bank we saw the queen's carriage pass as she went to dine. Then Buonaparte and the Emperor of Russia with the king went by us: and we afterwards learnt that Buonaparte reached the house first and opened the door of the queen's carriage himself. He had before called on her when she arrived in the town. From those who were present I am assured that she received him with much dignity, and that he showed the humblest condescension; wearing the black eagle of Prussia himself and

presenting with much respect the marshals who accompanied him.

All this may soothe the anguish of mortified royal vanity : but to the world what can justify the humiliation of the queen's presence at a dinner given by Buonaparte ? Of this I am certain, that there never was a more dishonourable and a more treacherous banquet : an Arab would have disdained the fraudulent meal. What a noble subject for the pen of a Shakespeare ! History had provided him with no such materials. God grant that the catastrophe may be satisfactory to the future audience !

Having moralized for some time with Mildmay as my companion I went to Platow. What a delightful reception ! This brave warrior, this excellent man, I still found the same admirable friend. He received me as a father would receive a lost child : and when I told him that I should go to S. Petersburg, he was more pleased as he said than if a year's time had been added to his life ; which in plain English means that he was greatly happy in prolonging our acquaintance thus. In his relation to Buonaparte he is as ever the enemy to a tyrant. He has seen him but did not approach him. Buonaparte gave him a scowling look as he marked his disdain. When the French marshals have passed the river and requested to pay their respects to the hetman of the Cossacks he has always refused to receive them. " I do not want their attentions or their friendship " has been his constant answer. To Berthier alone has he been better disposed ; and in Berthier he has found a worthy man and a respectable officer. I left him with the promise of dining with him to-morrow.

He made Mildmay and me mount his best horses to return. All my old friends crowded to salute me, and I was as happy and as proud as a man can be when such proofs of attachment are shown him by chiefs and soldiers whom he esteems.

We returned to Bommel, and occupied a small room in which Barons Aske and Sozomar were quartered: for in this village there are only five houses, and I would not go to Pihopen where the king is, although there are good quarters there and it is only two miles distant from hence, as I do not think it right to appear in the presence of the emperor or king. I do not wish them to be compromised by any civilities shown to me for they are surrounded by spies, and the little great man is extremely jealous even of our couriers passing here.

This morning I have seen many more of my friends and have not found one reluctant to acknowledge me. Indeed the public as well as the private feeling of the army is excellent and it is our own fault if we forfeit their esteem.

Woronzow whose battalion is at Tilsit has just sent to request that I will meet him at the bridge, as he "wishes much to see me." I may go *a little further* to visit him.

Platow who has just gone by to dine with the queen has left me two horses for our service here and two Cossacks, with the promise of letting me have Gregory again. Have I not reason to be grateful to this kind friend?

July 9.—Yesterday after I had finished my diary an officer of the guards came to me, and as he was passing to Tilsit I determined to go with him and

Mildmay persisted in accompanying me. This did him much credit, for he was aware of the imprudence and did all in his power to discourage me; but I felt confident and was not to be moved from my purpose.

Baron Aske lent me a pair of grey trousers which I drew over my own, a short white waistcoat, a foreign-cut coat, and a cap. I was a complete masquerade figure. Mildmay put on his servant's clothes. Thus equipped we mounted our horses and rode down to the river, on the banks of which we met several French officers coming from the opposite side, but stopped by Russian sentries as not having *passes*. We wanted their boat so our friend gave them ready permission to proceed. This pause gave time for a few grave remarks but no alteration was effected in our plan. We entered the boat, passed the Rubicon, landed, and walked to Woronzow's quarters who was about sitting down to dinner at the mess: we went there, and were received with much satisfaction and not a little surprise at our first appearance.

Our inquietudes were very soon settled. A French officer entered the room and gave us no uneasiness. Another French rascal came to sell mosaic and spy all he could, but we remained undistinguished by him. After dinner we walked about a little until six o'clock, when we repaired to a post from whence we could see the Emperor of Russia, &c., pass; for the sovereigns make a practice of showing themselves on horseback for a quarter of an hour round the town previously to dining; and sometimes of going to see the manoeuvres of troops. About half-past six the queen unex-

pectedly arrived. I shrank from her observation as my appearance would not have been decent or delicate. The emperor and king, who had been waiting at the house when the queen entered, were now informed that Buonaparte was at the emperor's house. They mounted their horses and went to him. Shortly afterwards General Murat came to pay his respects to the queen. He was dressed exactly like our May-day chimney-sweepers, except that the cloth of his coat was blue in colour. His figure is good, his countenance the vulgar copy of Skeffington's; and so thorough a coxcomb I never beheld. His aides-de-camp were dressed "*en fantaisie*," and more ridiculously than anything to be seen on our stage.

During all this time I was surrounded by French soldiers and officers; one of whom, on my mentioning Buonaparte, gave a very inquisitive regard and brought another person presently to look at me. Some Russian soldiers also recognised me, and being in conversation with a French fellow pointed at me several times, and I afterwards saw this man notice me to a comrade. I was obliged as the die was thrown to pretend indifference: and Mildmay and I both walked about boldly.

I am delighted with the conduct of the Russian officers towards the French. Not the slightest symptom of cordiality appeared. The officers of both guards had by orders dined together, and also the soldiers: but these entertainments had not in any degree brought them to familiarity. The Russians all felt sensible of the unhappy act of Alexander. They felt as loyal men, and disdained an association

the dishonour of which was not lessened by the fact that their sovereign had accepted it.

Of the grand duke, who has been the cause of all this conduct, their language is such as I will not write: but if he had an ambitious object he has marred his prospects for ever.

About half-past seven, after a very long conference, the sovereigns appeared on horseback. Buonaparte was in the middle; the emperor of Russia on his left: the Russian, French, and Prussian guards intermingled in the same order. Behind Buonaparte also rode many officers: marshals of France; but disguised by their gingerbread clothes, and failing of the least resemblance to warriors.

Buonaparte was grossly corpulent, and his countenance presented no commanding talent: but those who have seen him lately assured me that he had a discontented mien; and this was probable considering what it was supposed would occur at the conference. His face was very pale and unhealthily full. He was plainly dressed, with a cocked hat worn as the old Frederick wore it: and he had only a star to distinguish him. He was mounted on a little black Arab horse.

The Emperor of Russia was majesty itself. He presented a nobility of air and mien which astonished me, and I heard all the French express their admiration. I could have joined in it from *remembrance*.

When the group had passed we walked about again until the procession returned. Soon after this General Berthier Prince of Neufchâtel came to announce to the queen that dinner was ready. She descended into the carriage. A general buzz of applause was heard

as she appeared. I held my cap over my face as she passed but Mildmay assured me that she looked earnestly at both of us. I should regret this if I supposed that she did it under any impression of the truth; as she might think we came to insult her in the moment of her humiliation.

Woronzow, with myself and Mildmay, now returned to his quarters. After tea we walked about the town passing among the French troops in their own quarter, and called on Ribeaupierre. I rejoiced to find him morally and politically the same—lamenting present times and refusing all intercourse with the French; who—I say it in solemn conviction—seemed to me far inferior as men to the Russians. I hardly saw one gentleman among all the French and their troops. Their imperial guards were not worthy to be seen after inspection of the Russians. Mildmay was amazed at the superiority of the latter, and especially at the unique grandeur of the battalion of guards whom Woronzow commands.

After seeing all that was worthy and unworthy of notice we returned across the river and went to Platow, where we re-dressed ourselves. With Platow I found General Tchaplitz who was as usual my good, I may say affectionate, friend.

As Mildmay and I were jogging home revolving the interesting events of the day a voice in our rear interrupted us. “Good night to you”—“How do you do?” I turned round, put out my hand, and said, “How are you?” Guess my surprise when I found it was the king! He was very civil about my family, and we rode on together conversing very seriously. It was evident that he was much discon-

tented with the arrangements, and that resentment was rankling. I also know the cause. He always called Buonaparte "Le Monsieur à Tilsit," and with an emphasis of contempt. I told him where I had been; he laughed much and advised me to take care of myself. He thanked me for my delicacy respecting a visit to Pihopen; and after I had ridden with his carriage far beyond my cottage he bade me a good night, and shook hands. We returned to a new quarter in the same village: a worse room but our own.

After dinner Platow gave me a Circassian musket, a Baschir bow and arrows, and a Circassian cloak, which I value much.

Immediately afterwards I expressed a wish to go again and see Woronzow: and I requested—as some Calmucks, Baschirs, Cossacks, &c., were ordered to exhibit their national exercise of arms before Buonaparte—that a letter might be conveyed to Woronzow asking for a bourgeois habit. Platow immediately proposed that I should put on a Cossack's dress, and offered the same to Mildmay. We consented at once and with much pleasure. The Cossack officers seized the idea with eagerness. We were equipped in five minutes and were greeted on our *excellent Cossack appearance*. We crossed the water, entered the town, went by Buonaparte's quarters, passed through the escorts, and, to the surprise of Woronzow and the officers of the guards, entered their apartment and were there for a minute without being recognised; except by *one* who saw us in the street, and observed that we were not "*bred* on the Don."

Soon afterwards the emperor, the king, and Buona-

parte passed us to make their tour on horseback. Buonaparte looked as usual: hard, blank, and designing: in short, *like himself*. His train followed in the same attire. I was much surprised I own to see Duroc. I had expected to see a gentleman, but I never saw one less fashioned. When the group had passed I met Count Pahlen, Tchaplitz, Korf, D'Alembert, Bagrathion, &c. all muffled in great coats, as there is a positive order against any of the generals going into the town. They all knew me which mortified me much; but concealment among friends is very difficult.

D'Alembert and I walked through the town and twice passed by the windows at which Buonaparte and the emperor were: the latter gazed so hardly that the second time I quickened my pace for fear of his sending for me.

I was now full of confidence; and strutted with the insolent air of a Cossack conscious of his worth as a soldier, and of the value of the liberty which distinguishes his happy tract in the vast savage empire of Russia.

In the midst of my presumption I heard an officer say, "Is not that the person of the chevaux-légers whom we saw on the other side?" I hastened to avoid their regards and proceeded to Woronzow's quarters.* I imagine that these were some of the

* Londres, le 4 Août, 1807

J'ai eu la satisfaction de recevoir votre lettre du 15 de ce mois passé, daté de Memel. Je vous avoue, mon cher chevalier, que je n'ai pu que blâmer, et blâmerai toujours l'injustifiable imprudence avec laquelle, allant à Tilsit, quoique incognito, vous avez risqué d'être reconnu, dénoncé à Buonaparte, et saisi par ce scélérat. Comment pouviez-vous vous hasarder à un péril aussi éminent, vous qui aviez publié un livre dans lequel vous

numerous officers who had crowded round us when we came out with Platow to look at the Baschirs &c., selected for the sight of their despot; and after dinner, as we sat on benches in front of the door, for some time: a circumstance which pleased me much at the moment, as proving to the French that the English and Russians were friends and would preserve their friendship even to the beard of France.

We—Mildmay and I—now took leave of Woronzow and were going home, when Platow from the quarters

donnez les preuves les plus incontestables que l'infame Corse massacra les prisonniers ennemis, et empoisonna les malades dans ses propres troupes? Qui est-ce qui pourrait croire, connaissant l'atrocité de ce monstre, qu'il ne vous ait saisi, en produisant quelque gueux de Français de sa suite, qui aurait juré que vous l'aviez voulu comploter pour assassiner son maître? après quoi il vous aurait envoyé enchaîné en France où on vous aurait fait mourir dans les plus horribles tourments. Qui ne sait que ce monstre a des espions dans toutes les cours, dans toutes les armées, et il devait en avoir beaucoup à Tilsit, et même autour de mon fils qui commandait le bataillon qui gardait l'Empereur? et vous avez dîné chez mon fils! Je remercie Dieu de ce qu'il vous a sauvé de ce péril, et mon fils du désespoir où il aurait été de vous voir saisi.

Pardonnez-moi, mon cher Chevalier, mais je ne puis vous parler autrement, que vous avez été plus heureux que sage dans cette affaire; et que vous avez oublié tout-à-fait que vous aimez une femme bien aimable, bien estimable et qui vous aime, et que vous avez des amis qui vous sont très-attachés.

Je ne vous parle pas de politique car je l'ai prise en horreur, aussi est-elle plus horrible que jamais.

Je suis bien aise que vous allez en Russie, car c'est Moscou qui est en Russie, qui est la vraie Russie, mais pas Pétersbourg, où il y a plus de Livoniens, Estoniens, Allemands, et Finnois que de Russes, et le peu qu'il y a de ces derniers la plus grande partie parmi eux ne sont que des courtisans.

Adieu, mon cher Chevalier; continuez à m'écrire par l'occasion des Courriers Anglais, et remettez vos lettres pour moi à Lord G. L. Gower.

J'ai montré votre lettre à Mr. Canning, qui en a été très-content. Je puis vous assurer qu'il a beaucoup d'estime pour vous.

Tout à vous,

WORONZOW.

of the emperor called me, and we went up to the emperor's apartment: here we remained some time and then proceeded to our boat, crossed, returned to the Cossacks who were delighted to see us, dressed in our own habits, rode through the Baschirs' camp, saw them shoot and eat horseflesh, wandered about, showed off a little before some aides-de-camp of Murat and a French general who were looking at the Baschirs, and then retired to head-quarters, where we chatted over the events of the day and talked politics.

To this hour I have not met one Russian who rejoiced in the peace—not one who did not feel shame at the friendship of their emperor and Buonaparte—not one who did not fervently hope for the catastrophe of the tragedy—was not ready to aid its fatal issues.

This morning to our surprise Captain Alison came to us. He had gone again from Memel to see the French camps, slept at Tilsit, and in the morning was disturbed in a sound repose by the entrance of a French officer and two gendarmes, who made him prisoner and sealed up all his effects. For three days he was detained by them, but lived with the French general who treated him with civility.

He was specially examined by Talleyrand, who asked much about our expedition, its force, destination, &c.; and on Captain Alison saying afterwards that we had in Kent alone one hundred and thirty thousand men he said, "That will avail you nothing if you do not accept peace. Now we can do as we will with England; and we shall certainly invade her; nor will ships be wanting."

Berthier examined him last night and asked him

many military questions relative to England, and that on a map with which he seemed perfectly acquainted. Talleyrand on dismissing him this morning said, "It is fortunate for you that England and France are now balancing a negotiation, and that in some sort Tilsit is a neutral town: nothing but this could save you; but never appear here again." Almost everything was restored to him; but all his letters had been broken open, and every English article of property was demanded with the greatest avidity, and some things stolen which he refused to part with.

Captain Alison owes his escape to his pass—"Captain Alison, travelling on a party of pleasure to see the armies."

* * * * *

I have just sent off a long letter to Gower, full of *interesting* public matters*—I may say most important.

Alexander is gone this instant to visit the queen, and I am about to mount to dine with Platow at one o'clock.

July 10, 1807.

We went to our dinner and there met General Bischeff, a very amiable man and a noble of the most distinguished patriotism. He had been sent from Riga to assist the emperor with his counsel; and was now returning. We had a long conversation, and from him I derived much useful information. From what I could discover peace between England and France appeared to be one of the objects of Russia; but the policy of this adjustment I could not comprehend, particularly if England should be averse.

* See Lord G. L. Gower's despatches to Mr Canning. "Papers respecting Russia." London. 1807.

July 12, 1807.

Yesterday morning the Emperor of Russia quitted Tilsit. Buonaparte attended him to the water-side and dismounted from his horse as the emperor embarked in the boat. There had previously been some ceremony on parade, and I am sorry to say an interchange of "orders" early in the morning.

Buonaparte, Berthier, Talleyrand, and Murat received the cordon of St. Anne. The emperor, Prince Nariskin, Budberg, and Labanow the cordon of *dishonour*. As Buonaparte passed the Russian battalions he gave the right-hand file one of his disgracing crosses.

Woronzow, foreseeing that he must witness these acts of unworthiness, feigned sickness and came over to us until his battalion passed by. The emperor came through about two o'clock wearing still the cordon of the legion. Most of the generals were around me. There was one murmur of indignation at the sight and for some minutes afterwards no person spoke. When the conversation was renewed sovereigns might have learnt an useful lesson. The emperor went to the king, and we presume counselled the reluctant monarch to take leave of his plunderer; for shortly afterwards we saw him pass to Tilsit. More than half his dominions have been taken, himself insulted, his wife humiliated, and yet he was necessitated to utter thanks instead of maledictions! All his offences should be forgiven; he has expiated them all by this draught of woe.

Buonaparte does not go from Tilsit until this morning. He remains to show himself as master. So when the Emperor of Russia invited him to dine he answered, "No! you are my guests in my own town.

I am the landlord, you are but invited." With the same insolence he presumed on the weakness of Alexander when the terms of peace were written the day before yesterday for the first time, since previously there had been only conversation. "These are the conditions. I wish peace; I love peace; but I cannot change one iota. Do you choose war or peace?" There is no doubt that if Buonaparte had been treated with equal firmness he would have conceded much more; but alas! he knew well with whom he was dealing. His insolence to the king has been almost incredible. The other day he said, "While you are expecting your country from my hands, the queen goes on board an English frigate and amuses herself with the English. Then make them aid you. I will give you nothing. The Emperor of Russia may do what he pleases with what is restored of Prussia." And again he said, "You did not know your own country. I took from it one hundred millions of crowns in hard money and twice as much in contributions. You may yet find something."

Marshal Ney had the brutality but twelve days since to say in the *chamber* of Gumbinnen before all the magistrates and people, "You have a fool for your king and a picture for your queen." The queen I am assured wept bitterly yesterday, and said "Why did you bring me down here? why make me lose my honour without being useful to my country?" The fact is that Buonaparte had art to obtain all these sacrifices to gratify his *amour propre* without even stipulating for any previous conditions; and the articles finally agreed on are quite different from those originally granted in the conference.

In this way Lord Lauderdale was amused at Paris.

Memel will be given by the emperor back to Prussia; but what is this slip of land in comparison with Westphalia, Magdeburgh, Dantzic, South Prussia, Bayreuth, Anspach, &c.

The rain poured in torrents; but after dining with Beningsen and taking leave of my dear friend Woronzow, I resolved to go and bid adieu to Platow. I found him just setting out for the emperor by whom he was sent for. We took leave, with the first regret his friendship occasioned me. Platow is ordered to Moldavia, and this is one of the first-fruits of the treacherous peace made by Buonaparte. Moldavia and Wallachia are to be given to Russia; that is, Russia is to take them from the Turks. In this war she will expend much blood, and enfeeble her arrangements for the formation of her army on a scale suitable to future exigences; for not an individual imagines that the peace can be lasting, and Beningsen offered yesterday a considerable wager that it will not continue two years. It is not only that Russia will have to carry on a ruinous and under present circumstances an unjust war, but the serious jealousy of Austria is awakened, and England cannot without abandoning her own interests and those of Austria, her natural ally, consent to the proposed division of the Turkish empire, for in the secret articles France is to have several of the Greek islands and Egypt. This is, however, certain; that when Buonaparte pressed the guarantee of Egypt by Russia the emperor said, "No! If you insist on that the war must proceed; I am resolved to do nothing hostile

against England, and this guarantee must be so considered."

Jerome Buonaparte is to marry the Princess of Saxe. The Elector is to be dismissed, in favour of the young yellow admiral and Miss Paterson's husband; while the part of Poland wrested from Russia is to be erected into a duchy, and annexed to the crown transferred to the brows of the Corsican family.

Such is this abominable peace. There are some minor articles not worth considering, and the republic of the Ionian Islands is perhaps destined to indemnify the King of Naples for Sicily. Nevertheless I am so satisfied that the discontent will be general, I know so well that the sovereigns are full of hatred to Buonaparte, I see such excellent materials for the formation of a general coalition now that the difficulties relative to Turkey and Poland are removed, that I do not despair: provided only that the British government will act with vigour and wisdom, will repair former faults, and prove to Europe that she will abandon a system unworthy of her dignity and injurious to her interests. For what avail conquests in Africa and America when the fate of the world is determined by continental battles? If England will send out proper people, Russia and Prussia will become her best friends, and Austria will continue so; but, alas! there is faction at home, and little public virtue.

The Russian army is about to remove into White Russia and there encamp. Beningsen goes away this day to Willkitten, but he is not yet deposed from his command. We are about to move and join Prince Gortschakow, and from him return to Memel.

Willkitten, July 12.

We came here yesterday and went on to dine with Prince Gortschakow about two miles further, where all the chiefs were assembled. After dinner I demanded the general attention, and in an *appropriate* speech delivered to Gortschakow the order of the Black Eagle which Beningsen had placed in my hands for him in the morning. The manner of my doing this gave Gortschakow great pleasure, and I was very happy in being the channel of additional gratification to so good a friend and so brave an officer. The surprise of the company was very considerable, as the ceremony was quite unexpected. When some time had elapsed and the congratulations had ceased, I as deliberately rose and presented to Tchaplitz the Red Eagle. This second gift was received with the same joy as the first, and with no less satisfaction to the company. After a merry entertainment we parted and returned to this place, to which the head-quarters had been transferred. I had a long private talk with General Beningsen and learnt his opinion on the state of affairs. He expects the renewal of the war in twelve months if not sooner.

I here met Count Strogonow. His indignation is not to be described ; and Czartoryski and Novosilzow are no less sensible of the guilt of the transactions at Tilsit. After supper with the general we came to our quarters in a barn, where Strogonow, Count Balm, Col. Lestocq, a Pole of considerable distinction, and Mildmay, slept — not altogether *al fresco* but nearly so.

Memel, July 15.

On the 12th we went to dine in company with

Tchaplitz at Prince Bagrathion's. We met there many of our friends. From him to Platow's, but he was not returned. On his arrival in the evening we supped with the general, and then returned to our apartment in the barn, where Platow kept me awake till two o'clock in the morning by *comical* instructions in the Russian language.

General Beningsen in the course of the evening had received his dismissal on the ground of ill-health. This grieved him perceptibly and the more as Buxhowden his enemy superseded him.

The army was formed into twenty-two divisions and the militia thrown into it, so that above two hundred thousand men are thus obtained. Platow had seen the emperor, and is to march into Moldavia instantly with fifteen regiments, and Tolstoy is to go with two divisions. The emperor told Platow that Buonaparte had sent with him a message to the Turks, threatening the march of an united force against their empire if they did not in three weeks evacuate such provinces and islands as they claimed; and that the answer was expected in three weeks. The emperor hoped that they would comply without demurring; in which case Platow was to be permitted to return to the Don.

Platow assured me that he marched with much regret, and foresaw evil instead of good as the result of the peace. He has sent off his regiment; but purposes to come to Memel first, in order to take leave of the king and receive a plume which the queen has promised him.

I learnt this day several very extraordinary anecdotes. Previously to the interview with Buonaparte

Hardenberg went to the emperor and assured him that the grand duke was at the head of a party which resolved to force him to make peace. The emperor was very angry with Hardenberg and said that he meant to sow dissension between the brothers. Hardenberg went away resolved never to visit the emperor again; but in three hours afterwards he was sent for, when the emperor said "I did you wrong; but who could suspect that my brother was so unnatural? He has been with me and had even the audacity to remind me of my father's fate; but I shall find the means of removing him from my presence." Hardenberg, from whom this story comes to me, was much astonished to find that the emperor the next day consented to see Buonaparte, and that he not only forgave his brother but acted under his direction.

Hardenberg's dismissal was made a necessary preliminary by Buonaparte. He has gone to Riga, and from thence is to go to Denmark. His present disgrace assures high honour to him hereafter. Buonaparte strove also to dismiss Budberg, who is a Livonian; and asked the emperor who Budberg was. "He is not a Russian," he said. "I do not like strangers as ministers." Count Golz refused to "sign," as he said, "the disgrace and ruin of his country." Buonaparte took him by the ear, shook it, and pulled his head to the paper, saying "Vous le signerez!" This anecdote as well as the others may be depended upon. They are relations from the actors themselves. Golz finding that the emperor would not interfere, and that no hope was left, subscribed.

July 13.—This day we returned to Memel as we

both wished to see Lord Gower before we went to S. Petersburg, and more particularly as we had news of importance for him.

We took leave of General Beningsen, &c. I could not quit my friends without great regret. I was, however, assured of their private worth and public spirit, which consoles me with the hope that the day of our reunion is not very distant, and at all events that I shall not lose their friendship by any affiance to France; for in my whole life I never met with a more gallant feeling than pervades all ranks at the present moment.

We went away in the evening, and travelled all night without any incident worth recording. This morning Lord H., &c., returned from Carlscrona, which they found a miserable town and much reduced by fire.

I was invited to dine with the king, and am just come from him. Arriving first I had private conversation with him of much interest. God only grant the means—the disposition to retrieve the national honour is not wanting in him or in other personages! The Prince of Orange announced the death of Colonel Froberg. He was attacked by some French chasseurs on his way from Königsberg. He refused to surrender. A ball through his shoulder and one in his head brought him to the ground. He even in this state refused to tell who he was, and in three hours expired. His cousin in the Bavarian service arrived soon after he was wounded, and from his own brother now at Tilsit this story comes. His passport, &c., was carried to Buonaparte.

After dinner we had a long conversation with the

queen, who recounted many particulars of the late unhappy visit to Tilsit. She spoke well of Murat ; and said that he uttered sentiments which did him honour, and so loudly that she was astonished. He even spoke from the window daring politics. She said that she was frightened at the power Buonaparte had of expressing benignity in his countenance when he chose ; for “ if such a man could look benevolent what was the value of physiognomy as an index of moral character ? ” She however saw him act the tyrant in various ways, and particularly on the second day when he went out of the way to say severe things.

Nor is his love of sway confined to empires and armies. He had drank his coffee : he held out the cup to Murat : Murat either did not or would not see it. Buonaparte's eyes flashed fire : he thrust the cup forward, and regarded Murat with the ferocity of a demon. The humbled Duke of Berg was obliged to act as waiter. A variety of similar circumstances characterized the tyrannic insolence of this usurper ; and the whole conduct of his creatures proved the greatest apprehension of his ungovernable temper.

The sight of the royal family is truly afflicting. The errors of the king are atoned for ; and every generous man ought to forgive the wrongs which have caused so heavy a doom upon this monarchy. The retribution may be just but it is *very very* severe. I wish Alexander could come to Memel and witness the scene : but, humiliated as he is, from weakness not from vice, little benefit could accrue from his reflections.

What crimes cowardice occasions ! It has made a noble generous prince a betrayer and a robber !

We hear that the King of Sweden has broken the armistice. This is gallant but not prudent.

July 15.—Count Balm and Strogouow arrived in the evening of the 13th ; also Platow. A leak was discovered on board the *Astræa* which gave much alarm. The bread-room was entered and found full of water.

Yesterday morning the king sent for Platow, and the queen gave him the promised plume ; with which he seemed delighted and said that he should present it to his wife, to be worn by her only on the most solemn occasions. He told the king that I was not only his adjutant but his brother ; and that he had no other name for me but Boatt Wilson, which in the Russian language signifies brother. The attention of the sovereign and all ranks of people must have been highly gratifying to him. Every one wished to show respect to an officer who so well had done his duty.

Prince Potemkin arrived—an addition to our pleasant society. After dinner Parsons the messenger arrived from England, bringing despatches to the 1st of July. Platow went away in the evening and I received his sincerest blessing.

At ten o'clock at night Lords Grenville and Gower, Stewart, Mildmay, and Hay, left Memel for S. Petersburg after many attempts.

Sontag goes away this day too at one.

The third division will move to-morrow, and we bring up the rear ; which grand guard is to consist of Lord Hutchinson, Kit, Eustace, and myself in one coach. Our march is directed on S. Petersburg,

Moscow, Lapland, Stockholm, and England, where I hope to arrive in September or the beginning of October.

Mid-day.—The executioner of the Duc d'Enghien has just arrived here on his way to S. Petersburg where he is to be ambassador. This is good. General Savary is the proper representative of Buonaparte, as he is a creature stained with crimes and offences. Strogonow even rejoices at this insult, as he wishes the emperor and the nation to see the deplorable degradation to which this peace has reduced them.

The hereditary Prince of Mecklenburg has also arrived to return thanks to the emperor for the interference which has restored to him his country. He met Buonaparte at Marienburg. The tyrant was in his carriage, and without even taking off his hat obliged the prince to stand at the door in the road. Here he kept him a considerable time, that a crowd might assemble to witness the humiliation and his treatment of a prince doing homage.

If the *Astræa's* leak is not considerable she is to proceed to Cronstadt, and take on board I believe the money that was sent as subsidy to Russia.

The English ships are all clearing as fast as possible from Memel under an apprehension that Buonaparte may send an order to detain them; but I imagine that the fear is groundless. Prussia, however, has no means to resist the order if issued, and must comply. She exists now only by favour. What a terrible condition for a monarch, to depend on the caprice of such a being as this conqueror!

General Savary's equipage has stopped at the house next to us, and his people are making as much tumult

as would expose them in London to be treated as rioters. I presume that they act so by direction.

We hear that the King of Sweden has landed our second division. Bathurst is appointed on the staff of the Hanoverian Legion, and finds himself obliged to proceed to Stralsund.

We hear this instant that Buonaparte went on the water *incog.* at Königsberg. A large vessel ran against his boat and he was in danger of falling into the river. A Russian sailor snatched him from a fate which would have changed the destinies of the world.

Memel, July 17, 1807.

General Savary's arrest on the frontiers of Russia amuses us. He presumed to attempt to pass without a passport. The director of the posts refused to suffer his progress. He declared himself—"General of France;" "Grand Cross of the Legion of (dis) Honour;" a "Grand Seigneur charged with an important mission from the Emperor Napoleon;" and said that this was "a sufficient passport." The Russian objected, and answered that Alexander not Napoleon commanded him, and that he should not advance an inch. The insolent and enraged *executioner* sent back an estafette to the Russian resident here who provided him with the necessary passport, but in his letter approved the conduct of the director of posts; so that here commences a jarring which I expect will terminate in the same manner as our uneasiness after the peace of Amiens.

In the evening the Prince of Orange and Fagel took leave on their return to Berlin. This unfortunate prince is now reduced to a pension of five thousand pounds a year, assignable on the treasury of Murat

Duke of Berg. This sum is indeed a woful compensation for his losses ; but even grief would be considered an offence by the tyrant, and he is obliged to bear his misfortune with silent humility. He purposes to quit the Prussian service as the king has not been kind to him. Fagel, who is an excellent person well known to the English will go to England, as the prince has now no means of continuing any establishment.

Count Golz, the minister of Prussia and remarkable for the *ear* scene at Tilsit, came to us. It appears that Buonaparte was in much danger when his boat was run foul of.

Buonaparte has changed his plan of action. He now only goes to Dresden for some days, returns to Paris, stays two months, and then comes back to Dresden there to remain a considerable time. Whether to commence war with Russia for Poland, or to attack Austria, time only can inform us. Some persons insist that Jerome is to marry the young Princess of Saxe ; but this is again strongly denied, for there is certainly an attachment between him and the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg. They have been affianced and Buonaparte approved the connection. If the Princess Royal of England escapes the misfortune of being mother-in-law to the brother of Buonaparte it is more than she has dared to hope for hitherto.

Buonaparte at Königsberg was extremely angry with Murat for the folly of his dress. He reproached him violently, as he supposed in private, but the conversation was overheard. One remark was just : “ It is by such imitations that Europe has been lost. And do you think that I will suffer the same practices

to be introduced into France? Dress only assumes an importance when it is adopted from a foolish love of imitation." I wish our German maniacs would take this instruction even from Buonaparte. English, original English, is to us real strength; and he who would introduce foreign customs and foreign habits is an enemy to the security as well as to the character of his country.

I learnt yesterday also several curious and authentic anecdotes. Buonaparte told the emperor and king, "I was in Egypt reposing in an excavated rock when I was awoke by a considerable noise, and I found pieces of stone falling round my head but without doing me the least injury. In a minute afterwards my eyes were directed upon a beautiful cameo on which was the head of Augustus." He meant to infer that this was a supernatural notice to him of his fortune and glory. I observed, "*Si non vero ben trovato.*" But not quite so; for a more impudent fabrication no vain tyrant ever imagined.

When he urged the emperor to take part of Prussia and the emperor pleaded friendship as erecting a barrier impossible to be surmounted, he said "Friendship! Amongst us there are no friends." A fatal truism in the book of monarchy. Alexander afterwards proved the fact; but at the time he expressed surprise at Buonaparte's lesson.

To the King of Prussia he was very ironical. After a few minutes had passed at the first interview he looked at the king's overalls, which were fastened down the leg with numerous buttons and made to fit very close, and said "Are you, sir, obliged to button all these every day? Do you begin at the top or the

bottom?" The satire was felt, but I am sorry to say has not corrected the king; for within the last three days there have been four different orders relative to the caps that are to be worn. What sovereign madness!

We passed a cheerful evening; although much of the conversation would have been described by Richard II.'s speech on the vanity of royalty.

If the king is not more discreet in his language his misfortunes may not yet be terminated. It is, however, hard to be denied the privilege of complaint.

July 19.—Yesterday morning a young man of the name of Annesley came from England, having left London on the 1st of July. He did not call on Lord H.; and his whole conduct, and such circumstances as we could trace, were very extraordinary. He stated that he was going to Lord Pembroke with despatches, and that he was afterwards to join the Austrian army, but in what capacity nobody could learn. He did not speak any foreign language himself, and his interpreter was a Pole who could not speak German or French. The only appearance in his favour was his youth, and this prevented serious investigation.

We received the French bulletins of the battle of Friedland. As usual the successes are grossly exaggerated. The details of movements are generally correct. The "plusieurs milliers" drowned in the river when the attack was made on the left is false. The "eighteen thousand dead" is ridiculously untrue; the "twenty-five generals killed" and the "eighty pieces of cannon taken" are egregious lies, because the

enemy could not in this respect have been deceived. The Russian army engaged was originally but forty-five thousand men. Now if "several thousands" were drowned and "eighteen thousand killed," with the proportion of wounded and taken added, there would not have been a man to retreat; and yet Buonaparte admits that there was an army left, by his own words, as well as by conduct with which we are acquainted; otherwise he would have pressed with more vigour. The bulletin is very lame relative to the retreat of the Russian centre and left. The fact is that this part of the story is little honourable to the enemy.

If, however, the people of England are not resolved to credit the French from factious adherence of faith, the statement of one hundred and sixty thousand stand of arms being taken at Königsberg will enable them to appreciate the veracity of this bulletin. The account of the capture of so many magazines, when it is known that the Russians had long been starving, will also expose the truth.

The French statement of their own losses is long since justly estimated in the world. Their impudence is, however, hardy. They omit totally the battle and loss at Heilsberg; and at Friedland they represent that they had only five hundred killed and between two and three thousand wounded. It is however remarkable that they omit Preussisch Eylau in classing their battles.

After dinner I took a walk with Gower on the promenade of the town; and there met the king, queen, Princesses Radzivil, William, &c., &c. I had a long private talk with the king. He told me that the

Duchess of Courland had written that day to state that the Emperor of Russia had told her he should pass through Mittau in September, to see his army. These inspections of sovereigns generally terminate in some action of importance, and it is intimated that the emperor is to see Buonaparte again; but this the king would not believe.

I was mentioning the falsehood of one of the bulletins which stated that the Russians and French were pleased with each other, and joyously running about the streets. The king said that Buonaparte, to insult him, had also had the audacity to assert the same untruth in his presence; he added that the Prussians and French hated each other.

This desire, however, of cultivating the Russian regard is honourable to the importance of Russia. It is an adulation which humiliates the French without bribing the Russians to their disgrace, for their affections are not to be so won.

I am afraid Austria has compromised herself too late for her own safety.

July 20.—Yesterday I dined with the king and had a long conversation with him and the queen on political subjects. The queen told me several curious anecdotes of Buonaparte's conversation.. Two of the most remarkable were these:—

The name of the Queen of Wurtemberg was mentioned. "Ah!" said Buonaparte, "she has made a conquest of every Frenchman. We are all surprised at the power she has gained over us. She is a most sensible woman, and truly virtuous." These praises he repeated continually for some time.

Having asked the queen how she occupied her time,

he said, "Even the lost time of a woman is time well employed; but, your majesty, I recommend you to read 'Clarissa Harlowe:'" and then he made several very pertinent quotations from Jean Jacques; delivering them with much energy.

The king took leave of me with great kindness, shaking me by the hand and making several very flattering and grateful observations.

The French leave Tilsit this day, and Königsberg to-morrow: but when they leave Prussia altogether is very doubtful; for the king has engaged to pay above four millions sterling, and this contribution cannot be raised.

I presume that Buonaparte wished for an excuse to keep the country some time in his hands. Whether he will order the king and royal family into Berlin, and of course into his power, is yet uncertain; I suspect probable. The king and queen have the same suspicion; and it gives them serious alarm.

Alexander certainly comes to Mittau in September, and a part of his army moves this way. The object is a close secret. Two Russian regiments are still, and will remain, in garrison here, which is also an odd circumstance. I can only account for it under the idea that they are a safeguard to the king.

At Vienna, on the 6th July, no news of the armistice had been received. Early in June a great body of Austrians marched to occupy the defiles of Transylvania leading into Wallachia; and a considerable corps has moved into Gallicia.

I expect, certainly, an Austrian and French war in a short time.

The carriage to convey us to S. Petersburg is packing up and we start at three o'clock, P.M.

Mittau, Courland, July 24.

On the 20th in the evening, Lord H., Eustace, and Kit, left Memel in the carriage and I followed on horseback.

My departure from Memel was attended with great regret, for I could not detach political reflections from private regards. The king had latterly been so *very* kind to me and had made so many communications that I felt more for him than ever I had done before: and I lamented deeply that a certain event, on which Europe lately for some hours might have reposed with reasonable hope, had not occurred. I parted from the rest of the royal family also with real feelings of friendship and affection. The manners, the attentions, the accomplishments, and the conduct of the whole, commanded the most loyal and respectful sentiments.

On leaving the king's house to mount my horse an extraordinary incident occurred, which placed me for some minutes in an embarrassing situation. Hereafter I may mention the anecdote. The subject is love and madness. The hero was in England some years since, after a very remarkable arrest and disgraceful liberation.

We did not advance further than Nimersath the first night, where we had a comfortable lodgment. Here terminated the Prussian dominions.

The next morning we marched again with eight horses to our carriage, crossed a small slip of Lithuania, and at Polangen entered Courland. Polangen was formerly the bishop's residence, and there were here

several good houses. We received also the greatest civility from the Russian officers stationed to inspect the passports, &c., &c.

At Pilzau we breakfasted: at Drogen we slept, having marched this day seventy-five miles. On the road we found everywhere very good accommodations; and some superior post-houses, in half of which men of rank live part of the year and particularly at this time, being anxious to obtain news. The country was beautiful; water, however, was not sufficiently abundant to render the scenery perfect. The ground was cultivated up to the edges of the roads which were generally as good as English roads. There was, however, much bad farming: for where wheat was sown a yellow flowering weed covered the ground. This weed destroys the grain crops: but some farmers to diminish the loss extract an oil from it. In some years this weed is very fatal to the corn and no remedy is known. Sir John Sinclair might do good service by applying his science to this object. The next day we proceeded to Bekhof. The same appearance of country; equally good accommodation. The flies, however, tormented us; they were of great size, and the poor horses' bodies streamed blood from the wound of their bite. Yesterday we advanced to Mittau through a deep sand and in burning heat. Kit and I walked, preferring the heat to the tediousness of our progress. When we came to the suburbs I persuaded him to go on, although he only wore a dressing jacket and I was as irregularly dressed. When we reached the town we met a carriage in which were two ladies, and two Frenchmen with the Order of St. Louis. One of the ladies was very

handsome, and I immediately declared her to be the Duchesse d'Angoulême. This Kit denied; but I proved to be right. The grounds of his opinion were, however, reasonable.

In the town we met Woronzow with his battalion just marching out for Riga. This was unlucky; but the meeting was a pleasure and I hope to overtake him.

We came to an inn kept by a former cuisinière of the King of France, where we are well lodged. The Marquis de la Riviera soon came to us; Strogonow also, and Baron Brinken our Bartenstein friend. The town of Mittau is large, neat and comfortable. The castle, where the king lives, is a great building in which are the barracks and other offices.

Strogonow is this moment gone away. He is dispirited at the prospect; but I gave him some comfort, and hope to be truly useful. An important business has been committed to my charge. If I succeed all may yet be well.

The heat of this day is excessive. Under the line I was not so sweltered. We dine with Baron Brinken. He is waiting here for a passport to England, but a late ukase has rendered such permission very difficult. Even merchants cannot leave Russia without the sanction of the emperor, and the application is never successful under two months. What a dreadful infiction is arbitrary government in unskilful hands! In the time of Catherine, travelling was encouraged; and the policy was liberal and enlightened.

July 26.—In the evening of the 24th I went and called upon the Duchess of Courland, to whom I had an introduction. She was the wife of the late duke,

who lost this province about twelve years since when Russia seized it. The circumstance made little noise in Europe ; but the acquisition was most valuable from the position and territorial wealth of the province and the high civilization of the people. Among them the spirit of freedom still prevails, and they feel themselves entitled to the consideration of men. On these terms they have no objection to the alliance with Russia ; on less honourable conditions they will never be patient subjects.

The duchess is about forty-five years of age, a very handsome woman, full of intelligence and vivacity. She is esteemed remarkably clever ; and certainly has conducted all her affairs with great talent, and to the admiration even of the Russian ministers. The emperor is particularly attached to her : on his passing through on the last occasion she was the only person he saw. However, she did not disguise her feelings as to the disgraceful and unworthy peace now made, and she foresaw that war would speedily recommence.

Yesterday we went in cavalcade to Pyrmont, about a mile from hence, where the inhabitants resort in summer for recreation. I was much pleased to see the assemblage of people, for they were as well dressed and appeared as comfortable as the happiest citizens in England. I observed also that the women have nearly as much beauty as the fairest of our countrywomen. On a bench on a railed bridge leading over a small river to a cottage sat the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême contemplating the scene : no doubt revolving in their minds the former estate of their own country, and thinking that once the French were as innocent and as happy ; for I cannot imagine that these unfortunate

descendants of Louis XVI. can ever sigh for the gorgeous scenes of royalty and view with contempt the humble walks of life : with *envy* they may.

This morning I breakfasted with the Duc d'Avary and La Riviera. At ten o'clock Lord H. came to the château with his brother and Eustace, and we were presented to the king,* whom we found in a great billiard-room. Here were the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, the Duchesse de Sargues, Mademoiselle Choisy, the Duc de Sargues, General Bonnet, &c., &c. The king, who is very large and unwieldy but with a quick eye and a countenance of great benignity, received us most affably and talked freely and well on general subjects. We were then presented to the duke and duchess. After some minutes, were desired to follow the duchess into her private room, where we were received very amiably and graciously. This princess, so interesting from her misfortunes, has much resemblance to her murdered father as his likeness is impressed on the coins : her eye is very animated. She strikes you generally as a handsome person though there are defects of feature ; has much feminine softness, and a dignity of manner combined with an amiable expression that leaves upon the mind a sense of high nobility. Every one must admire her as a woman, feel for her sufferings as the daughter of an unfortunate sovereign, and regard her with respect as the heiress to the kings of France. She looks, acts and speaks in a manner worthy of her high birth ; at the same time there is not a symptom of pride. No princess ever bore a better and more valuable character.

* LOUIS XVIII.

The queen was at her bath. We were desired to see her previously to our dining with the king to-morrow; so that another day much against our inclination must be spent here. I hate to remain long in one place, but I would not for any consideration act with disrespect to the unfortunate Louis. I hope in the event to be useful to him from a conversation which I had this morning.

Baldone, July 30.

On the 28th, we went to dine with the king, and were presented to the queen, who is a little masculine woman with great vivacity and striking ability. She received us in a bedroom and was very plainly dressed indeed, perhaps rather from necessity than taste. At table, on the right of the king, sat the Duchesse d'Angoulême, on his left the queen, then the Duc d'Angoulême, and then Lord H. On the Duchesse d'Angoulême's right sat Mademoiselle de Choisy, and then myself: so that I had much conversation with the duchess; and often with the king; who said many civil things and always well-timed. The conversation turned chiefly on travels in foreign countries, and we spoke much of France; where I said my wife was educated, adding that she had great affection for the country. Our dinner was not good and the wines very bad; but how can a sovereign with only 7000*l.* a year maintain two hundred dependents and keep up his state? The penury of Louis XVIII. is not only a reproach to sovereigns, but bad policy in them; they ought for their own sakes to pay due honour to a head that has worn a crown. The apartments of the château are in a dreadful state of decay. Last winter the queen was obliged to walk in the

billiard-room with a *parapluie*. The curtains are covered with black dirt and the chairs are all in tatters. The whole appearance is that of apartments long closed in some ancient castle of a novelist's imagination, which his heroine enters to disturb its dreary repose in search of adventure. This reminds me of Princess Radzivil's recommendation to read a new novel by Madame de Genlis called "Corinna, of Italy." She describes it as interesting and clever. I have not been able to procure it, but on my journey I have read Lewis's "Feudal Tyrants," and I was much shocked to find how the mind has degenerated. Every page abounds with vulgarisms, improbabilities and bombast.

On our return from the château we found Balm who had just come from Memel. He brings no particular news; except that the Poles having shown some discontent three corps of the French army are marched against them at Warsaw. I do not wonder at their displeasure. Instead of being established they have gained in the King of Saxony a fourth master.

About eight o'clock, Brinken, Kit, and I, left Mittau for this place and arrived at ten on the following morning. About two years since Baldone started into notoriety from the discovery of a mineral water. The situation is remarkably picturesque; and the fields are bordered by large forests on the fringe of which about twenty barrack-houses are erected, which the people of Courland and Livonia seem disposed to occupy for six weeks in the year—not longer, for this is the utmost duration of their summer. Several noblemen have also built small houses and the place seems to prosper; but as yet nothing is arranged for

perpetuity. A few boards roughly put together form the exterior of the mansions; and paper hanging loose in various parts is the sole interior embellishment. Beds, &c., must be brought by the tenants; none are provided here. Close to our room, for we all three occupy one small apartment in company with thousands of huge flies, are warm baths. Within a few paces is the Vauxhall. Here are a garden, the mineral spring covered with an open temple, a dancing-room, a dining-room, and several gambling-rooms; for gaming is the sole amusement and social charm of Russians in their reunions. At the same time I must do them the justice to say that they are not eager to make others play who have no such zest. Neither Kit nor I have ever touched a card since we have been abroad, and they rather admire than find fault with our system. After we had dressed and walked about in the sand, which is unfortunately the soil here, to see all that is to be seen—and that all is very little—we walked to General Banlicheff's, who lives on a hill about two wersts off. This general I first met with Platow at Tilsit. He was very glad to see me. We dined with him and met Madame —, and her daughter who is rather pretty and very lively and intelligent although born deaf and consequently dumb, General Bechen-dorff, and a most extraordinary likeness of my friend General Tutchakow in the person of Count —. At the Vauxhall in the evening I danced with Miss Schep-pen, the sister of my friend the major, now gone to surrender the Bocca di Cattaro to the French; the only service that could make him melancholy. She was a perfect dancer.

This morning we rose at six to see the company

arrive to drink the waters. I tasted them : they almost made me sick.

Before breakfast we went to pay our respects to Count Palin. He received us with much affability and we have had long converse with him. He is certainly a very sensible man, with a fine open countenance and a manly lusty figure. I could not but make many reflections as I looked at him, and I became frequently absent from the weight upon my thoughts and feelings; for who that has ever heard of Paul's death would not have his mind engrossed by that tragedy in the presence of the extraordinary and able chief of that conspiracy? No circumstance can prove Paul's tyranny more strongly than the universal respect paid to Count Palin.

General Banlicheff told me last night that Buonaparte offered all Prussian Poland to the Emperor, provided that Saxony obtained Silesia. In that case poor Prussia would not have been a good dukedom.

From all quarters I find the greatest dissatisfaction at the peace and at the emperor's conduct.

The King of Sweden has sent to request the King of France to stand godfather for his new-born infant. This is nobly consistent.

The Duc de Grammont is here. I note his presence, not only because he has been very civil but in case of Jemima's being in company with Lady Ossulstone* as her son is now in the 20th, where the news might be agreeable. There is as yet no order for the removal of the French posts from Russia.

Riga, July 31.

Yesterday evening we left Baldone. After a long

* Daughter of the Duc de Grammont.—Ed.

tedious journey through deep sand we reached Riga, distant thirty-six wersts.

The town of Riga is in the style of all ancient cities: lofty houses with narrow streets; so narrow indeed that our coachman was obliged to enter the town with only two horses abreast. On the road they drive four abreast, and in this manner one postillion guides eight horses.

There is nothing remarkable that I have yet seen in Riga. The bridge laid flat on the water is very long, as the Dwina river is broader than the Thames at Westminster bridge; but it is no further worthy of notice than as this bridge forms a species of quay on each side of which small vessels lie. In an evening, and particularly on Sundays, the citizens make here their promenade. I am quite impatient to get away; but Lord H. has not arrived, and we cannot conjecture the cause of his delay at Mittau.

In the room in which I am writing is a regulation that renders arbitrary government of some advantage to travellers. A tariff is posted on which the price of every article is fixed by the government, so that there can be no imposition.

Aug. 1.—We went to the playhouse yesterday evening. It was miserably lighted; the singing and acting wretched.

Received a letter from Lord H., stating himself to be too unwell to proceed, but requesting us to remain at Mittau until we saw or heard of him.

The Duke of Wurtemberg and Colonel Sabine called on us. They went last night to S. Petersburg, the duke having obtained fifteen days' leave of absence from his regiment. Not only all officers are ordered

to join but no officer is to be allowed to resign for three years.

This morning Niebuhr called on us. He was full of mournful predictions, and having seen the Prussian treaty of peace he communicated many interesting particulars. Hardenberg and the dismissed Budberg are both in this neighbourhood.

About twelve o'clock a woman was whipped here for murdering her child. Her sentence was—to be whipped three times and then sent to Siberia. The rods were very severe, and she screamed violently although she had only thirty-one lashes: but I consider this punishment as preferable to our own for the same offence, especially in a country requiring population.

I have sent off an express to Lord H., requiring permission to continue my journey as I want to reach England before the winter.

Aug. 2.—No news from Lord H. I am quite impatient. Went on the Dwina last night. It is a noble river. The bridge is eight hundred yards long at the centre of the town. The stream expands largely from hence to the mouth, distant about twelve English miles.

Aug. 4.—In the evening of the 3rd, Kit and Brinken went to the mouth of the Dwina, and I took a boat and rowed to the house in which Baron Hardenberg lived. I saw him and received from him only friendly greetings, and no pleasant tidings. Buonaparte had at the first moment insisted on his dismissal, and when the king urged a plea in his favour he repeated frequently, “Je suis vindicatif. J’aime la revanche!” Budberg who was here, and who

was also dismissed by order of Buonaparte, is gone to S. Petersburg perhaps to influence privately; but Hardenberg has not determined on his plan of operations. This day I received my long-expected answer to the application for progress. Lord H. desired me to go on as he should "himself go by sea from hence," and his brother and Eustace "would travel by land leisurely:" but as he proposes to be here himself to-morrow I shall wait to see if he realises his intention. I do not think he will. I rejoice, however, in my liberty; and I hope to make excellent use of it. I have nothing to complain of in Lord Hutchinson—on the contrary he has been all kindness; but there are collateral evils from which I would gladly remove.

There has been no society whatever in this town and I have only been with a few officers. One would not suppose that Siberia and arbitrary power existed within the boundaries of the Russian empire. Such bold language and such indignant sentiments at the late peace I never heard; even in my own country, when we made the disgraceful peace of Amiens.

Aug. 5.—A circumstance has occurred here which gave some uneasiness to the government. Several of the neglected wounded had often sought to speak with the emperor, and were as constantly refused by the governor, &c. Notwithstanding, they resolved to see him, and took post at the church-door through which he was to pass. The governor saw them there and with violence commanded them away. One who had a severe wound in his arm, stepped forward and demanded to be heard. He said without any embarrassment: "General! for seven months I and my

comrades endured without a murmur all the ills of the last severe campaign. We starved—we marched—we fought—nay! we even retreated without complaint. We wished to serve our emperor faithfully and not augment his difficulties. I call God to witness that this soldier and myself for seven days had nothing to eat, but a piece of hide which we steeped in water in order that we might be enabled to chew it! and yet for eighteen hours we both remained in the battle until we were at the same instant struck by grape. Now that we have passed our frontier and are returned to our own country, we know that the emperor cannot profit by our ill-treatment. Look at this arm—undressed for seventeen days, and a burrow for worms! Look at our bodies, worn down with fatigue and wasting for want of food! The emperor may want us again—we are ready to serve him—but we will have his redress!” This speech delivered with so much firmness, and so unusual for a Russian soldier, alarmed the governor. Upon entreaty the wounded retired; but the emperor heard the story from others, went to them, directed their immediate relief, and the daring orator has been rewarded instead of punished. This is, however, a remarkable trait.

Dorpat, in Livonia, Aug. 7, Eight o'clock, A.M.

I took leave of Kit and Brinken and placed myself alone in my *britska*, which is a little low carriage just capable of containing one person and without any springs whatever. The first part of the road for about one hundred wersts was through a deep sand, but occasionally filled with loose stones which jolted me horribly. The last part, one hundred and thirty wersts,

was lighter; but as the roads in this country are made of fir-trees thrown across, I suffered most severely; nor could my stuffed bear-skin preserve me. Sleep was out of the question for these two nights and days. The country has been generally poor but latterly improving, and I have passed several beautiful country-houses with fine wood and water scenery. The inns have been very good, but I have never stopped five minutes in any one but this where I arrived an hour ago; nor would I have slept in one for fifty pounds on account of the quantity of stinging flies, which buzz to make me almost mad even at this instant.

I have been cheated in regard to changing money several times; but so triflingly that I only mention it for the meanness of the imposition and to exhibit the disposition of post-masters. I have avoided greater impositions as to the number of miles or wersts, by having bought a post card on which each distance is specified.

The horses have been very good, and we travel certainly as fast as in England and about three times as cheap. Ten English miles do not cost more than four shillings, and I pay the postboys liberally as an emperor by presenting them with forty copecks—about one shilling—nor have I any turnpikes to pay. In this country that impost is unknown; as the noblemen are obliged to take in charge allotted tracts, which they keep in very good order.

I yesterday left Woronzow on my right about three miles. I was much tempted to go to him, but it was night and I feared that he would long detain me—perhaps for a whole day; this would violate my

golden rule in travelling which I have often found useful : "never stop till you have reached the goal."

This is a charming town, as gay as one of the best of the French towns and with very fine houses. Many new buildings are also going on. Indeed, throughout Livonia I have remarked a general spirit of improvement.

This day is remarkably hot. Thermometer in the shade 102°. Yesterday I was drenched with rain. What vicissitudes !

Naiva, August 8, Three o'clock, A.M.

In the wretched closet of the most miserable post-station I was ever in, I employ a leisure five minutes in writing these notes ; which considering that I have not had any sleep for three nights, is a great compliment to those for whom they are intended.

I went to the general at Dorpat. After waiting about half an hour I resumed my journey in the britska. I left Dorpat with some regret : I could have passed a pleasant day in the town, which is truly one of the gayest in appearance that I have seen for a long time. The great churches, built like mosques, have their minarets and domes painted light green and occasionally gilded. The architectural effect is heightened considerably, and this colour is more enlivening when the houses are built of white stone which is the case here.

Between Torma and Nemnali I came on the shore of the great Lake Peïpous. It is one hundred and fifteen wersts long and ninety broad but only seven feet deep. This lake is about to be united with the Baltic at Revel by the Balbush river and a canal ; when Dorpat will be a very considerable town and the

interior of Russia will throughout be much benefited. The emperor will also gain largely, as a forest two hundred miles long and seventy deep and extending to the banks of the lake along which I partly skirted, will then produce a great income; whereas its fine timber now only grows to perish.

The road from Nemnali improved greatly but the britskas shortened: this caused me to sit quite cramped and would have prevented all repose even if the jolting had permitted it.

August 9, S Petersburg.

I had been obliged to desist as my postillion announced himself ready; but not to interrupt the narrative I return to Narva, happily only in thought.

Narva is celebrated for the great battle fought between the Swedes and Russians, which covered Charles the Twelfth with glory and instructed Peter in that art of war which finally rendered him victor at Pultowa. A more ruinous town I never was in. It had all the appearance of having been lately sacked; but the ancient fortifications presented some highly grand scenery, particularly the remains of two castles separated by a wide river. They seemed still in their ruin to frown upon each other. The more modern works of Narva are out of repair, but it is said that they are to be repaired and kept in order; when the place will be very strong.

The wretchedness of the post-houses at Narva, and from thence the state of the post-houses to S. Petersburg, determined the emperor to erect at each station a new inn upon a very handsome scale. They are built and will be occupied in a few weeks. From Narva to Jamburg I rolled or rather tossed on bad

pavé. Since my arrival here I find that the Russian couriers frequently suffer from spitting of blood and other mischiefs, from use of the carriages in which I travelled. I do not wonder at the injurious results.

Jamburg is the first station from Narva. It is a town built by the great Catherine on one of her noble plans : but a fire consumed the principal buildings and the place is very neglected.

To Strehlinnen I passed through a very poor country ; but here and there some gentlemen's houses improved the scene, and indicated my approach to the neighbourhood of a great city. The villages in Esthonia are far more numerous than in Courland or Livonia ; but the tenements, being all of wood, did not appear neat or comfortable. I cannot reconcile my eye to these perishable structures, and particularly when there is every facility for erecting cottages of stone. Fifty years hence a traveller may find this material more employed.

At Strehlinnen I am gratified by a noble view of the gulf, a handsome paysage, and the magnificent palace of the grand duke. Strehlinnen is not only the palace of this prince : the barracks for his regiment of hulans and the chevalier guards are there ; these barracks are well built and disposed. Strehlinnen is altogether an important place for the notice of a traveller, but I would not stop longer than to change horses.

From Strehlinnen to S. Petersburg the road is lined with country-houses of the nobility and merchants, to which they come for their short summer. These country-houses were prettily fitted up but too near the road ; and as they were built of wood I did

not much admire them. I confess that this gingerbread work did not prepossess me much in favour of S. Petersburg.

At three o'clock I arrived at the gate of the city ; having completed my journey in about sixty-five hours in rapid movement, five hundred and fifty-two wersts, being very near three hundred and thirty English miles. I say rapid for Russia, considering the state of the roads and the delay of changing horses. I was heartily glad to arrive. I had suffered too much to wish for one werst more ; but my torture did not cease for some time, as Lord Gower to whom I drove lived several wersts from the gate. In going to his house I necessarily passed through a great part of the city. And what a city ! magnificent beyond description or imagination. It is I am certain unrivalled on the Continent or in the modern world for the grandeur of its buildings—the stupendous designs of the several sovereigns who have contributed to its majesty. The whole appears an assemblage of palaces : this to a citizen of the *nation boutiquiere* may perhaps be a fault ; and I own that after the first gaze the absence of shops is a defect, which strikes the more as S. Petersburg in its origin and destiny forces itself upon the mind as a commercial city. But I have been here too short a time to enable me to attempt a full description or indeed to form a correct judgment : I therefore will not venture any remarks prematurely.

I found Lord Douglas and Lord Gower at dinner. I declined joining the party being heated with my journey, and was directed to Lord H.'s lodgings on the Neva perspective. Stewart promised as soon as

I was dressed to call for me and take me out with him, for I was resolved to commence my work without any repose. I found Lord H.'s lodgings very magnificent, there being six handsome rooms in front and several behind; so that his lordship was never so well lodged before. The house in Park Street would go into the smallest saloon.

In about an hour I was in order, but the sun had sadly deranged my visage, and given me a bacchanalian nose. Time is the only remedy. However, I did not care for the temporary appearance of ebriety and therefore I went with Stewart. We first drove to the French theatre, where I saw some very good acting, a handsome house, and the melancholy view of empty benches—for at this season all the nobility, as I said before, live in the country. I do not believe there were more than sixteen persons besides ourselves, Lord Gower, Mr. Rich, and Mr. Ker Porter, in the boxes; but as the Crown pays the actors this absence of company is not injurious to their interests, though a little derogatory from their honour. The play was over at nine. On going out I met several of my old acquaintances who welcomed me most cordially.

Lord Gower took me with him to Count Orlow who lives about five wersts from town. Here I met the countess, Countess Lieven, Countess Maaden, Count Merveldt, &c. We were in all about thirty persons, and among them was Count Soltikoff brother of Countess Orlow. I saw him at the battle of Preussisch Eylau knocked down by the wind of a cannon-ball which killed his horse. He is not yet recovered from that contusion; and perhaps never will recover entirely, as the spitting of blood has been very profuse

ever since, and the swelling is not yet reduced. We left him for dead. About twelve at night we came away ; and although I was not in the least weary I was glad to recline. I awoke this morning very much refreshed, but shaking nervously : at this I was not in the least surprised, for I felt assured that my frame could not so soon have lost the motion of the britska.

I breakfasted with Mildmay who lives not far from me, and after breakfast went to pay visits to Merfeldt and to Count Lieven who received me with open arms and made me stay an hour, assuring me that the emperor would gladly hear of my arrival. From him, after much conversation, serious but not disagreeable, on the present state of affairs, with which he is much acquainted, I went out three wersts to see Strogonow. I found him at home and he introduced me to his wife and his father. The wife is said to be clever but she is not beautiful. I then walked to Czartoryski who lives within a hundred yards, and I had the good fortune to find him unchanged. Novosilzow was out but I met him on my return, also Ribeaupierre and Nesselrode. They were coming from the palace, and they stopped their carriage and in their full dress ran into the road to salute me, to the great astonishment of the spectators who could not conceive to whom their ardent greetings were given. These minutiae I do not record from vanity, but to prove the sincerity of friendship in the Russian breast.

Count Strogonow's father pressed me much to dine, and particularly as he throws open his fine gardens on the banks of the Neva on Sundays to the public, when the fashionable world regularly resort there after dinner to enjoy his promenades. I promised to dine

with him the next Sunday (bold adventurer to engage for anything in these marvellous times at so distant a date!) and to come to-morrow.

I dined in company with Mildmay at an English merchant's who gave an entertainment to Lord Gower this day. The dinner was costly, and I was gratified by the sight and taste of abundance of fine fruit; even cherries which had ripened in the open air; but the company did not afford much agreeable entertainment. There was one tolerably pretty woman, Mrs.—; but the whole were bad *ton* and I resolved to visit rarely in this line. Indeed I am determined while here to live chiefly with Russians, and not to do as most of the English travellers here do—associate with my countrymen: the reason is that they have prejudices against the sober habits of foreigners which I do not share, and they prefer the bottle to any advantage which the sacrifice of that indulgence would insure.

Abuse of foreigners and intoxication are I think the order of the day in all youthful English circles that I have ever seen abroad: and yet such is the estimation of the aggregate people that the English bear the palm still, and are permitted to totter intoxicated into rooms from which men of other nations, equal in birth and of better manners, are excluded. This remark points at a *set here*; but I forget that my design is to entertain not to moralise. We came back early. I was invited to a party, but I had so much to finish of necessary work that I preferred an evening of solitude: the day begins to dawn and I have not yet commenced any detail of what I have seen. After twenty-four hours' knowledge of a

city to presume on a dissertation on men manners and curiosities would be too impertinent and foolish, and therefore I am glad that the "*cacoethes scribendi*" is checked by the breaking morn: yet, unless I hasten over my ground, I must according to the opinion of many leave my work unfinished.

The news of thirty-one sail of British men-of-war in the Baltic, and the perpetual practice of firing red-hot shot at Cronstadt—which has been going on for the last week and the reverberations of which I have just heard—might justify a superficial observation: but I have no fears of detention. As I told Prince Lieven to-day, "The emperor invited me to his capital—I have obeyed his command—let what will happen I am his guest and therefore can have no apprehension of being detained as an hostage."

I do not like General Savary's continual visits to the emperor: this intimacy can indicate no beneficial dispositions; and yet we must not precipitately determine feelings from appearances.

I have mentioned that Ker Porter is here. I must not omit to specify the cause of his visit. At Moscow he made acquaintance with a Russian princess who has 6,000*l.* a year, and he has come here to marry. The lady, according to report, though very engaging is not handsome. As yet I am tempted to accuse nature of being unkind to Russian women. "I have not seen—what?—one pretty woman." "Well! how many may you have met in society?" "About twelve." "Then you are no judge—so be silent until you have seen more—until you have looked at the Nariskin and the Galitzin."

Such, I conceive, might be the dialogue if the

emperor and Lord Leveson Gower were at my elbow. We shall see ; but I do not believe that the Russian ladies will augment my attachment or respect for Russia by their personal charms : and a general neglect of truth is one of the strong characteristics that justify my opinion and feeling.

Aug. 11.—I yesterday walked about the city and examined the most interesting objects in order to collect materials for my description of S. Petersburg. This I shall write apart from my journal as it must be the work of several days.

At dinner at Count Strogonow's I met the Princesses Galitzin, old and young ; the Lieut.-General Czartoryski ; my old and good friend Novosilzow ; Balm, and several others of both sexes. Strogonow did not dine in the great mansion but in a detached house in the garden, beautifully adorned and furnished, and commanding the most extensive view of the luxuriant region bordering the Neva. This river runs within a few yards of the house with the most limpid stream I ever saw in a considerable river.

After dinner, as we sat a short time in the saloon surrounded by flowers and with all the luxuries of summer fruits, I could scarcely believe that I was in a climate which has ever been described as rugged, and I rather imagined myself transported to Italy. But, alas ! the illusion is only of short duration. The killing frost soon nips the buds and will blast the joy of blooming vegetation.

The ladies went to town to the play. I remained a couple of hours to converse with Czartoryski and Novosilzow : and *most seriously* did we converse, for our subjects were melancholy. From them I went

across the Neva to Lord Gower, who had just taken possession of his summer residence near to the country palace of the emperor, three wersts from S. Petersburg and a quarter of a werst from Strogonow's. With him I went to Princess Laval's, a Russian who married a French emigrant and who has built a superb château with a noble garden on the Island Aptekarskoy—the whole of which Peter the Great in the grandeur of his designs had destined to scientific institutions, botanical and others, but where now many noblemen have their handsome residences.

While I was walking with M. Laval, a servant came to request that I would follow him to Count Tolstoy, who wished to see me at Madame Gourien's the wife of the Maitre des Apanages. Thither I went and found him. He was all that I could wish as far as personal kindness went ; but I have not equal regard for him since I hear that he was one of those who instigated the emperor to his ruinous acts at Tilsit, and who encourages him with false praises at this moment. However, we were far from suffering politics to interfere with our interchange of courtesies, and I must not permit the intrusion now ; for really I feel much indebted to Count Tolstoy for his very particular kindness at Bartenstein, &c. He loves his sovereign certainly, and he errs only from want of judgment.

Aug. 13.—I dined with General Merveldt, a small but pleasant party. Yesterday to the Princess Galitzin—la belle : jet black hair and a fine complexion are her chief beauties. * * * *

This morning I have been with Lord Douglas to see the imperial library. Among many valuable ancient

books two chiefly excited my interest. One was a book taken by the English at the capture of Paris, of which Queen Mary became possessed; from whom the King of France received it. He deposited it in the library of the Bastille, from whence at the Revolution it was saved and sold to Catherine. The other was an ancient Roman (Missal) edited under the auspices of the Church, in which there is an illuminated drawing of one of the Virgin Mary's miracles, so strangely imagined that I laughed for half an hour in regarding it.

Aug. 16.—On the 13th I was at General Ouwarow's and passed my day there. Mademoiselle Viahow was of the party. On the 14th I went with Stewart early to Lord Gower's, where until dinner we amused ourselves by sailing in a boat. This amusement very nearly cost us dear: we got entangled with the cable of one of the large bridge vessels and could not clear away: the current set strongly against us, and as the cable rose we expected to be forced under water at last by irresistible pressure. No such evil, however, befel us; and the ambassador, his minister, and the soldier were restored safe but not very clean to the shore. In the evening the Swedish minister sent us papers to the 21st which came by a courier from Stralsund. They gave us little news and none of pleasant bearing.

In the evening we went to Princess Galitzin's. It was not an agreeable party to Stewart and myself who are not lovers.

Yesterday morning I received letters from England containing but sorry intelligence. I was at breakfast with Stewart when they came; for although I possess

a very sumptuous mansion, a mouse would find difficulty in procuring a bite of food. From him I went to Wiley the physician, and thence to Tolstoy. I did not find him at home; so I returned to town without having seen the emperor as I had expected according to arrangement. In the evening I went with Stewart to M. Laval's and General Merveldt's. This day I dine with La belle Nariskin, and am going there with Prince Tchetrovsky, her brother, in his carriage. I anticipate that I shall not find her beautiful, unless I can appreciate *weight* as a quality of perfection.

The Prince Bagrathion, who resides at the palace in the country with the empress-mother, has just sent for me, and I shall go to him to-morrow. The distance is only twenty-five wersts. I was to have been at his house in S. Petersburg; but I did not like to occupy an apartment in his absence, which he had not foreseen.

The French here go out very little. I have not met them once. They are quite *polissons*, and are much disliked. It is reported that the grand duke was grossly insulted in Peterhoff by a Hungarian officer in the regiment of Melisino—that he was accused of cowardice, tyranny, &c. &c. But such is the hatred against this prince that no public notice has been taken, and the affair is being hushed up.

S. Petersburg, August 19.

On the 16th I went to Count Stroganow, and dined with his father who on a Sunday keeps open house. About thirty sat down, a number unusually small; all men. There was a general magnificence which is

seldom found in combination with this hospitality. After dinner we walked through the gardens, where the *beau monde* of S. Petersburg assemble on these occasions. Few, however, were present, as many people had gone to pay their respects to the empress-mother at Paulowsky.

On the Monday morning Kit and Eustace arrived, having been five days and nights from Riga. Lord H. had gone by sea.

I dined with M. Laval. We had a very large male party. Kit and Eustace augmented the number, the former being taken by Eustace; such is the freedom of society in this country. In the evening I went to the young Count Strogonow's, where I had a very agreeable *soirée* in their delightful house and domestic circle. Prince Czartoryski and Novosilzow were added; but they are indeed almost inmates, being connected by marriage and by close friendship. It was my birthday. Since the last anniversary through how many new scenes and through what mazes have I passed! will the next be as interesting? I had rather not seek to look into the book of the future, even if the chapter of fate were at my command.

Yesterday morning I went over Count Strogonow's town palace, and I had to admire great collections of minerals and the best pictures, as well as rooms superbly decorated and arranged.

At four o'clock I was at the emperor's palace at Kamenoistrow according to appointment. I was ushered into the great dining-hall where I found Count Romanzow; and soon afterwards Count Tolstoy, Prince Galitzin, Prince Lupakin, and one or two more

of the chief ministers joined us. We waited till a quarter past four when I was desired to go into the adjoining room. As soon as I entered the emperor took me by the hand, shook it with affectionate kindness, welcomed me, and then led me to the empress who received me with most flattering expressions of her good will in consequence of all she had heard. Having conversed about ten minutes the emperor and empress went into the dining-room and spoke to the circle, and then sat down to dinner. I would have gone to the bottom of the table but the emperor desired me to sit on his right hand, and during the whole of the dinner we talked in as lively and uncereemonious a manner as at Bartenstein. The empress joined also constantly in the conversation; but if the form of state was banished from the society all around denoted imperial magnificence. The attendants, &c., were arrayed in courtly splendour; and some blacks dressed like the chief eunuchs of the seraglio who waited upon the emperor and empress added greatly to the effect.

The entertainment was of the best quality and did not last too long. After dinner I talked with the empress on various subjects; but most particularly on the characteristics of different countries, for a quarter of an hour, under the colonnade in front of the dining-room. I had much reason to be proud of and satisfied with the distinction which I received, from the tenour of the discourse and the invitation to revisit Russia under the imperial auspices. The emperor came to me when the empress retired. He spoke to me a considerable time; and on withdrawing again shook me by the hand, and said that he should do all in his power

to evince esteem and to make my residence agreeable. I however told the empress that several circumstances urged my departure.

Aug. 20.—I was interrupted in my notes yesterday. . . . Alexander has a good, an affectionate heart. I had frequent occasion to observe the honest agitation with which it beat when our discourse was directed to some incidents which vibrated on memory. He wants only good counsellors. But if he had less virtue he would still command my services; for has not his conduct to me been one series of honouring friendship? Was ever individual more distinguished or more warmly cherished by a sovereign, when there was neither high desert nor secret service? But I must not continue in this strain for fear of tiring the patience of others who have not the same reason for enthusiasm. And yet not so, for the gratification of one is the pleasure of *both*.

From the court I went to Gower's where I met a large society. The ambassadors of Naples, Vienna, &c., were there. From him I went to Princess Galitzin's, and thence to Count Orlov's. In the morning I came to breakfast with Gower, and on returning to town walked about to see the fortress in which are the tombs of Peter the Great, Catherine, Paul, &c.; and also all the colours, &c., taken since the reign of the first, of which matters I shall give an account elsewhere.

Dined with Mr. Anderson, nine wersts off. He is a sensible man and a friend to Russia and his own country. His wife is the picture of Lady Falconberg on a smaller scale. His daughter is pretty with a good figure and has had a good education, so I passed

a pleasant day. On my return, as it was only ten o'clock, I determined to take advantage of the fine evening and walk to Strogonow's. I executed the distance in one hour, and after staying an hour and a half returned in the same time but not without much exertion. When I got home I found that Lord H. had arrived. I saw him this morning.

Aug. 21.—We all dined with Gower. In the evening I went to Strogonow's where I again met my friend. It is certainly the most agreeable house in S. Petersburg although there is less company. Lord H. went to General Ouwarrow's. I have cut that house as I do not choose to meet the French who go there every evening. For the same reason I have given up the acquaintance of Prince Gagarin whom indeed I never liked.

This morning I breakfasted with Porter.

August 29, 1807.

On the 21st, after dining with Gower I went to Strogonow's. On the 22nd I dined with Bremer the Hanoverian minister, where we had a very large party: the English papers would describe it as a grand dinner. Indeed I never was in a city where there was more sumptuous entertainment, and yet the tables are not loaded. What is remarkable is that the stranger who has heard only of the cold and frost of Russia, will here see more fruit and flowers than in the houses of the people of England: and I am assured that in the depth of winter the apartments are always warm. This is probable, from the great solidity of the walls, the double windows, and the stoves.

On the 23rd I dined with Count Merveldt, and

after dinner walked in the garden of Strogonow, where the *beau monde* had assembled, but there was certainly little beauty. A Mrs. Gascoigne, an Englishwoman, seemed to command the homage of males and females. From thence I went to Count Orlow's. The society of this place is so arranged that there is really no house in which above a dozen people meet: this may be agreeable for residents but it is not so for strangers.

This day I have been dining with Nariskin—"la belle" as she is called. I am not one of her votaries: at least she is not my Venus. Her head is truly well formed, something like Lady Oxford's. Her profile is fine, but the full face, particularly about the region of the mouth, is far from pleasing. Her figure is bad, quite *disgracieuse*.

Her husband is the grand veneur. He gave us the music of thirty-two *horns*, which music is peculiar to this country. Each horn sounds only one note, so that the instruments are in fact as a piano-forte, but much attention is required to sound at the right instant. The effect is very grand, better than any organ I ever heard. The horns are of different sizes, commencing from one about four inches long and gradually rising to the size of the great horn. None of them are twisted.

Madame Nariskin spoke English pretty well. Her maid is an English girl who came out with Mrs. Angerstein. She can neither read nor write, but, like all English servants who come here, was immediately established as a lady. They give the *ton* of dress and are encouraged by admiration to do all that in England prudent people are most desirous that

their servants should not have a notion of. Almost all the great families have English maid servants; some in compliment to the empress-mother who has always some about herself and family. To the credit of our country, notwithstanding the mistaken treatment, the greater part obtain preference from their really good conduct: and almost unlimited confidence is placed in them. When I was going away, two carriages drove into the yard and some persons who were about me saluted them: I was just going to do the same very familiarly: when I remarked the colour of the carriages, and preserved myself from any compliment to M. Savary and his gang, who came unexpectedly to visit Madame Nariskin after having been refused admittance several times.

27th.—On the 25th I went to see the palace of the Taurida, and was much pleased with the celebrated hall created by the genius of Prince Potemkin to surprise Catherine. She had been accustomed to see only small apartments in this palace but found, as if by enchantment, under this roof the largest room in Europe; and a considerable garden on one side also under the same roof. I was much pleased with the gardens and grounds also. They are well arranged and kept: an Englishman has the merit.

In the evening I went to Admiral Lernicheff's, and there I saw a curious dictionary edited by Brissot at Paris, dedicated to the National Institute, approved by Geoffrey, &c., the "Moniteur" and all the government authorities, with this explanation of the word "Spoliateur"—"Pillard, brigand, Buonaparte!" It is in the second edition published in the year eleven. As this book may be scarce I recommend the purchase

and more attention is paid to the quick separation of the burning building from others than to the extinguishing of the flames. The hatchet is more trusted to than the fire-engine. I was nearly choked and at last dumb with smoke. The sensation of sickness was strong upon me before I desisted. My face was as black as a devil's in monkish pictures; and my clothes were so charged with the fumes that I shall not be better company than a chimney-sweep for several days.

When the fire was over, the master of the police, a general, came up to me and used an eloquent expression flattering to our country—"Now, sir, you may set your English conscience at rest."

I was very tired and had to walk home five wersts, but could not go to bed until I had bathed in a dozen different waters: so adhesive was the smoke and so ingrained.

Yesterday I went with Lord H., &c., to see the "Academy of Arts," a noble establishment where three hundred and fifty young people are instructed in painting, sculpture, &c., and maintained at the expense of the Crown so well that none of our children in England are better clothed, fed and taken care of. We were all greatly struck by the proofs of talent in several of the students, and I shall be much surprised if there are not some eminent masters now forming. In one of the rooms an old man ninety-seven years of age was sitting as a model. I never saw a finer countenance; and many of the likenesses taken were very striking. In another room were two men in the attitude of two famous wrestlers, one of whom is thrown: a more painful position cannot be

imagined. These two figures were as nature dressed them. There was no Venus on this day.

Too great praise cannot be given to this institution. It is the glory of the civilized countries of the world.

I dined with Mr. Anderson; and then crossed the road to Mr. Cayley's, an English merchant, who gave a farewell dinner to the merchants who were about to retire from this country in consequence of the new regulations. The house was small: but the gardens and supper-rooms were very prettily lighted and handsomely decorated.

The company—but I must be silent where I cannot praise. I shall only observe that there was little beauty and less fashion.

I danced, not to be thought impertinently proud; but I took an early opportunity of withdrawing, even before ———, who was there and whom I left rivalling Vestris. The supper was convivial. Two gentlemen passed the bounds of moderation; one was *not a merchant*, and the scandal was truly great. "God save the King" was sung, I thought to the tune of the hundredth Psalm, and it struck me that with such notes it never could have become popular: but looking round, I saw the tears of loyalty streaming from the eyes of an old gentleman near and of several other persons. I could not join in any laugh against their honesty; I only thought whether my children would at their age exhibit the same attachment to their sovereign; whether, in fact, the men of that coming time will have equal reason; whether "God save the King" may not be a burlesque on our real sentiments, in consequence of the conduct of him for whom the words are a solemn prayer.

I did not get home until this morning at three : and I have since been with Armenians, Jews, and Turks, striving to purchase souvenirs for those at home.

Aug.—I heard from the Danish ambassador of our landing at Copenhagen , at which he was much vexed. He said that we had been precipitate, for had we waited a few days France would have violated the Danish neutrality and then Denmark would have joined us. This reasoning is, however, fallacious. In the evening I went in his curricie to Princess Varginsky's where I saw her daughter a pretty woman, and the sister of her son-in-law who was handsome ; but I had with her a great dispute about Savary, and I read her a severe lesson considering that he is a frequent visitor. From her I went to Gower's, where I met Lord H. who had been dining with Merveldt to make the acquaintance of Savary. After falsehoods unparalleled, except among his accomplices, Savary had the effrontery to give a revolutionary tirade against all Europe. Merveldt stood his ground against him, and insisted that France had robbed and pillaged everywhere. Lord H. owned that he could not have submitted to the same impertinences from any man of honour ; and said that the modern French had the great advantage of being insolent with impunity, since no gentleman would risk his own honour by an affair with them.

From Lord Gower's I went to Strogonow's, and there I rattled on all subjects indiscriminately ; but much about the French and the pollution of their acquaintance. After half an hour's indulgence of my spleen I perceived a person whom I recognised as Napoleon's sister. We all laughed heartily and I

was allowed to proceed without restraint until one o'clock in the morning. I then drove to Princess Galitzin's having to communicate to Gower that in consequence of the Danish news there had been an intention to lay an embargo on British ships; but that a letter would now first be sent to him to demand an explanation.

Yesterday I went to Nariskin's. The dinner was numerously thronged and Princess Suwarrow was of the party. She is daughter-in-law to Nariskin and a fine woman: she has no one good feature and yet the *tout ensemble* is striking.

After dinner we went falconing. The chasse is very interesting but cruel. The poor crow always shrieked piteously as the falcon pounced upon him. I should have preferred to see the heron attacked for he has means of self-defence: when tired he throws back his head, and the falcon often impales himself on the long and sharp beak.

There is a curious circumstance attending the training of the falcon. When a feather in the wing breaks another is supplied artificially; and in a short time, it is said, the graft attaches itself and grows on the original stem.

By the *Calypso* we have received news of further proceedings at Copenhagen from which she came four days since. No letters.

Twelve o'clock, Midnight.

I have just been to Gower's to demand a passport, and he is to send me as courier; but he put a letter into my hands, dated 2nd July,* which makes me most unhappy. Four nights since Madame ——, at

* Announcing Lady Wilson's serious illness —Ed.

Princess Galitzin's took up a pack of cards and offered to tell me what is called "good fortunes." I accepted the proposition. She laid the cards out and she hesitated to speak. I urged her: when she said—"I am sorry to tell you, but you will have a letter in a few days announcing the sickness of some near relative and entreating you to go to England." The circumstance is sacredly narrated and shows how accident may anticipate truth. There was no previous suspicion possible. The cards actually fell so as to warrant the prediction according to the rule of sooth-saying by cards.

Aug. 30.—I am in a fever of burning impatience. The *Calypso* does not sail for Copenhagen before Tuesday.

Sept. 1.—This morning Lord Gower has given me despatches direct for England. I shall now go by land, reach England so much sooner, and avoid Copenhagen. I prefer this, as in the present state of Northern operations I do not wish either to act, or give intelligence: my counsel I have already strenuously urged. I went with Novosilzow, Lord H., and Czartoryski to see the Academy of Sciences of which my father was a member: as he was of every learned Society in Europe.

September 7,

Island of Shinglesea, in the Western Sea of Bothnia.

Here I am again the sport of winds and waves. I *must*—I *ought* to abandon navigation. It is almost folly to contend against predominating fate. I can brave all things by land; but the ocean has subdued me by conquering my patience rather than my courage.

On the 2nd instant I went by appointment to the emperor, who received me alone and for near an hour talked on important political subjects: a conversation very interesting to England. On my taking leave he expressed his hope that I should find Jemima better than I expected (for I read to him her letter) and he dismissed me with many most flattering assurances of his esteem.

From him I went to General Budberg, whom I found dying, in his opinion and mine. He conversed confidentially for an hour, and the conversation was also of a most important character. I then went to Gower: he was much pleased at what I was enabled to tell him, which rendered my personal appearance in England more interesting to ministers. I then saw Czartoryski and we held a kind of council as to proceedings. I dined with Lord H. and at nine P.M. received his letters: and giving and taking a kind farewell and with mutual regrets, for I esteem him very much indeed and I know that I possess his high regard, I mounted my telaga and drove to Lord Gower's for his despatches. He kept me till midnight: when he gave me very important letters and requested me to lose no time. He also provided me with an order for a packet at Gothenberg if no regular packet was sailing: this enables me to make the first port in England.

From his house I crossed to Strogonow's to receive their private letters, and then I parted with my estimable friends with more than common pain: for three such men as Czartoryski, Novosilzow, and Strogonow are rarely to be met with in this world.

The night was very dark, and the rapidity and

violence of the motion in my springless telaga gave me an excruciating headache; but I never paused. On the morning of the 4th I reached the frontier of Russia. Here the custom-house *captain* in hopes of extracting a bribe threatened to search my baggage. I was determined that he should not do so. He persevered: I told him to do it and taking out my watch added, "Now I mark the moments that you detain me and you will answer for it with your head: my despatches admit of no delay." This was true: *England and Russia are deeply concerned in them.* He was frightened, and allowed me to proceed.

On arriving at the Swedish frontier I was treated with more civility: but a well-dressed young man came up to me and said, he saw that I was a stranger and thought it right to tell me that these were troublesome times in Sweden; that I should meet with gross imposition; that perhaps the boors would take me three hundred miles out of my way, and he almost said might murder me. He concluded with offering to be my conductor for fifty ducats.

I told my cunning Isaac that I had travelled through the greater part of Europe, in Asia, Africa, and America without accident or harm, and that I should not begin to entertain apprehension of a nation with whose excellent character I was so much impressed. I give the fellow credit for good-humour as in separating he really smiled: as much as to say, "You are no young bird, to be caught with chaff."

Malgré moi I was obliged to be my own coachman; but I drove so fast that I reached Abo in forty-eight

hours, which is four hours less than any of our couriers ever did it in. The distance is only six hundred and fifty-two wersts, but the delays in searching passports and changing horses in the towns of Sweden render greater rapidity of transit impracticable. On my arrival at Abo a heavy gale was blowing, so I drove seventy wersts further to cross the cluster of islands in the western sea of Bothnia. On my arrival at Gelsinge the whole family, male and female, manned the boat that was to convey me twenty-five wersts. They rowed it in four hours, the ladies working quite as hard as the men. We passed a great number of beautiful islands, and as it was Sunday the villagers were visiting. Their boats contained the most picturesque groups imaginable. At the stern oars worked four women dressed in white shirts, and with white kerchiefs over their heads falling down long behind; around them sat the female passengers: at the four front oars worked four young men, and around them the male passengers: at the helm sat the chief, who looked the benevolent parent of the flock. So much decency and respectability with artless taste and beautiful simplicity I never beheld in all my travels. On every countenance was engraved, "I am an honest man." Throughout Swedish Finland I had only to admire. How different from Russian Finland! How much may human nature advance under a good system of government!

From Wersala another boat took me twenty-five wersts to Baarg, thence to Kulminge, and from Kulminge to Vardo. All these islands I crossed on foot and the boat people dragged the carriage to the opposite side.

Vardo was five wersts across, and from thence I embarked for Bomersund, five wersts; but the boat was crazy and I was nearly swamped.

From Bomersund I drove fifty wersts in my gig, which I had exchanged for my telaga on the frontier, to Eckero; but I had to cross twice in boats a short distance through intervening islands. All these embarkations and debarkations consumed much time, and I did not reach Eckero until midday. It blew very hard but I resolved to proceed. We had seventy wersts still before we reached Sweden. I heard much dispute among the crew, and I judged from the countenance of the veteran pilot that all was not right. Indeed the sea constantly breaking over our open boat was sufficient evidence of peril.

I was just felicitating myself on having escaped Shinglesea—an island on which Stewart was once obliged to take shelter and where he was detained sixteen days—when it began to blow a hurricane. “Down mainsail!—Head before wind!—Steady for Shinglesea!” was the word of command: obeyed instantly without further ceremony. We happily reached it, for night soon came on—and such a night as induced Lear to spout, “Now let the gods that keep such dreadful pother o’er our heads,” &c. Here, however, they will find no enemies unless I am the Jonas. Honesty is the possession and the pride of every individual. I proposed to bring up my baggage to the cottage but it is all left in the boat without guard. “We have no thieves here” was the general exclamation at my proposal; and I am certain that untold gold to any amount might be left with safety. Plato would here see his politic ideal realized.

Bognor, September 24, 1807.

On the 8th, at two o'clock in the morning, as the wind moderated, I determined to re-embark; and the crew notwithstanding unfavourable appearances consented to set sail. We beat for an hour; when heavy squalls came on, and with much difficulty we made Grisselhamn, which is the boat port in the Gulf of Bothnia, at six in the evening. On the 9th, with joy I found myself once more on the main land, as my progress is now less uncertain.

In a quarter of an hour I was in my gig and a female sat beside me as my conductress. Her features would have suited one of Proserpine's ladies of the bedchamber; but her vivacity was of the most amusing character. Wherever we passed she was cheered by all the boys and girls with shouts of merry greeting, which she answered with the voice of Stentor and with the wit of Momus.

My next companion was a little boy; and about eleven o'clock at night I found myself lying in the road with the gig upon me and the horses kicking. From this situation I extricated myself with difficulty, but never recovered my helmet which fell off. I then resolved to commit my safety no longer to the direction of others; but, notwithstanding excessive fatigue, took the reins, and at six o'clock in the morning reached Stockholm. There I was detained three hours for my passports during which time I ran over the town. I could not be surprised at the indifference of the king to this city as a residence, without reference to the political causes of dislike. I consider it the meanest capital in Europe.

On the 11th, about noon, I reached Gothenberg.

My gig could not have supported the action of another mile: it had yielded in every part to the rude shocks of the road.

A packet was ordered for me; and Captain Brydges, Major Gillmore, and Captain —— were my comrades, on their return from the siege of Copenhagen.

At four o'clock A.M. we went on board and soon afterwards weighed anchor as the captain was very anxious to forward me. We had no sooner got out of port than we were obliged to strike all sail and drive. When the squall passed we attempted to hoist the sails again but again we were stripped: so the captain was obliged to regain the port in all haste. I then undertook the responsibility of writing to Admiral Gambier and communicating opinions which were calculated to produce very important results. This measure, although it was doubtful at the time whether it would be sanctioned, has since received the highest approbation of government. It is a lesson always to employ in great national services men who will hazard something beyond their ordinary and prescribed duty.

At night, the wind being more favourable, we put to sea again, and after a boisterous passage anchored at midnight between the 18th and 19th in Harwich harbour. I immediately landed and set off with my despatches to London. They entitled me to expect a hearty welcome and I was not disappointed.

The same evening, after seeing several members of the government, I went down to Mr. Canning at Claremont. In the morning I came down to Bognor where I had the happiness of finding Jemima much better than I

had ventured to hope. On the next day I returned to London and dined with Canning. On the 21st breakfasted with him, saw Lord Castlereagh, the duke, &c., dined again with Canning, and on the following day went to the levée with him. I am about again to separate from my dear wife for six weeks or two months. Thank God! her present state of health enables me to do so without anxiety.

S. Petersburg, October 19

At six A.M., on the 2nd of October, after a week's tedious attendance and anxious expectation I left London: but although the delay exhausted my patience I had the most ample reason to be satisfied with my public and private treatment by Mr. Canning and the ministers. At twelve o'clock the next day I reached Yarmouth and instantly went to Admiral Douglas. The *Halcyon* had sailed several days, the *Trusty* only a few hours; and nothing was left in the roads to convey me but the *King George* hired cutter: originally a packet-boat of sixty tons from Dover to Calais. Miserable as was her accommodation I accepted a passage in her, as the public interest demanded all possible expedition. At five o'clock we weighed anchor. The night of the 4th and through the 5th and 6th the weather was fine, and on the evening of the 6th we made the coast of Jutland. On the 7th it blew hard all day, and foul. At night the gale increased, the sea rose very heavily indeed, and the cutter's decks were continually under water. It was in vain to attempt further progress; so during the night we stood off and on the Nideker lights, not a little alarmed at the neighbourhood of the Anholt. At

six A.M. it blew a hurricane, and the master of the *King George*—a most intelligent and active officer—determined to run for Gothenberg. When we approached the island which covers the Gothenberg river we made signals for a pilot, but none would or indeed could venture out. We had now advanced too far to recede, and our situation, in total ignorance of the channel and in a most dangerous sea full of sunken rocks, was very critical. As we advanced we happily saw two vessels before us. We overtook one; but on hailing found that she also was a stranger seeking and hazarding for shelter from the inclement tempest. We had nothing left but to hope that the leading brig, then a mile and a half ahead, had more experience; and we endeavoured to keep in her track. As we approached the islands I came on deck and beheld one of the grandest and wildest scenes that it is possible to conceive, but at the same time the most alarming: without accident, however, we passed the Wingo, and then, as there was some little shelter, pilot boats started out to our succour. The van brig bore down and took in a pilot and we did the same; but with much difficulty, and some danger to our own vessel. The wind pressed as heavily on the water as I ever saw it, and the sea ran nearly as high with tremendous torrents of rain: and this foul weather continued for the remainder of our voyage up the river. At two P.M. we landed.

Learning that the King of France was in the town, after writing to Admiral Gambier, Mr. Pierrepont, Lord Cathcart, and Mr. Canning officially, I went to pay my respects to his majesty who received me instantly with the greatest condescension and kind-

ness. He insisted upon my dining with him. The Duc de Berry and the Duc d'Angoulême were present; also the Duc de Grammont, Count d'Avary, and my friend the Chevalier de la Riviera. All possible proofs of regard were shown me: and the king had the good-nature to order a bottle of coffee, some tea, sugar, wine, meat, &c., to be packed up for my use on the journey.

At night I started in my light phaeton which I brought over with me, and travelled incessantly. I always took the reins at night straining my eyes to preserve my neck. On the fourth morning a foreigner in a gig with one outrigger and a servant would race with me and passed. He flew out of sight for about half an hour; but then going down one of the hills I saw at a turn a few yards in front a cow with a leg broken, then a gig overturned, and then two men rising from the ground and endeavouring to seize the frightened and wild horses. The unfortunate youth had urged his career so precipitately that he could not stop before his carriage came in collision with the wretched cow, whose leg was cruelly shattered. This seemed to be the only serious mischief; the escape of the *other brutes* was miraculous. We left the mortified Jehu to settle compensation for the damage, and proceeded towards Stockholm; but a few yards further we saw another carriage shattered by some accident or negligence. At two on the fourth day we reached Stockholm, and as the wind was fair for Abo sent to hire a vessel. I then called upon Mr. Alopens: from whom I learnt that there had been a report of an embargo being laid on British ships in Russia, but that he was incredulous; and on his reasonable incredulity

I wrote to Canning. Lord Hutchinson has his quarters at Stockholm but he had gone to Upsal. At seven P.M. I embarked in an Abo boat: a broad and almost flat-bottomed fishing-smack, of such a construction that the rudder head and stern are under water when at sea. At twelve o'clock on the second day after a most perilous voyage, in a furious gale, but through a chain of beautiful islands at first into the open gulf, we reached Abo. From Abo I journeyed on with various incidents, until on crossing the Russian frontier the reins dropped from my hands—I could no more. I was really exhausted: and as the roads were very bad I was obliged to have four horses abreast, which it required more exertion to manage and direct in safety. Two postillions undertook the charge, and they rode most comically on the two centre horses, so that one drove the right and the other the left horse of the Olympic team. From Wyborg the road was abominable; but over the last stage but one to S. Petersburg, being made of putters or young trees a great portion of which had rotted, it was dreadful beyond description. We jumped in and out of holes of incredible depth and extension, and with serious injury to my carriage as the back stack of the main-spring broke. However, after all perils I arrived in safety at S. Petersburg.

S. Petersburg, October 24.

Lord Gower received me with great kindness but not a little surprise. I dined with him: then went to find Woronzow, Czartoryski, &c.; and before two o'clock in the morning had transacted a great deal of business, and renewed much of my extensive acquaintance. The next day I employed in the same way,

and in the evening went to Countess Orlov's, and then to a public masquerade with a friend whom I wished to introduce to Russian society.

The next day I was *much occupied* in the morning. In the afternoon I despatched a letter to the emperor. Yesterday I had to call on the minister* and received much encouragement in my undertaking. At night I drove to Strogonow's whom I had not seen before, and whom I now found decorated with the order of St. George of the second class for his Cossack service. This gratified me much. Thence to Madame Alexander Nariskin's: sister of the favourite and one of the highest and most excellent women in S. Petersburg; whose love for her country, hatred of the modern French, and just views of political affairs, endear her to the English. As she is also the aunt of Woronzow I had more disposition to esteem her. Her house is the rendezvous of all the *beau monde*, and the whole establishment is on the most liberal and elegant plan. Madame Alexander Nariskin gave me her arm when supper was announced. We sat down to a small round table of which there were many in the room. Prince Galitzin, Madame Nariskin, General and Countess Kologin were at the same table. One place was vacant: a proper person was coming to it when a Monsieur de Lorgne, secretary to Savary and formerly a spy exiled from hence and who was subsequently pursued to be sent to Siberia, seated himself. This was an impertinence, but he added to it by addressing me shortly afterwards. I gave him the fiercest look I could command but would not reply. He repeated the question. I regarded him again with

* Count Romanzow . see Appendix, No. 12.

the greatest scorn, and turning to Madame Nariskin spoke to her. Every one was pleased at the rebuke I gave to his presumption, and as the Comte de Blacas came near I took him by the hand on purpose and entered into conversation with him. The comte is the minister of the King of France. After supper there was not an individual who did not thank me for the check I had thus given to Monsieur de Lorgne's insolence.

Savary himself had the other day a great mortification from Madame Ouwarrow. The conversation turned upon the birthplaces of the company. Savary said he was from Champagne. She answered, "*Je croyais que Monsieur était Suisse ?*" "*Oui, Madame ; fils d'un Suisse de poste, peut-être, comme vous avez lu dans un ouvrage imprimé dans un pays où on ne nous aime pas trop. C'est un ouvrage digne de l'auteur et du pays.*" Having said this he sulked the whole evening. The allusion was to a character of Savary, written in a work now prohibited here: "*Mémoires Secrètes de S. Cloud.*" Whether Madame Ouwarrow said this on purpose or not I cannot tell but I shall ask her. She is fully capable of it notwithstanding her obligation of civility to the French. Some evenings before when the French were present she told an anecdote which angered them all very much. An emigrant driven from his country had left behind him, in a precipitate flight, a handsome set of teeth. A parvenu obtains the property when confiscated, and among other articles the teeth, which by a curious coincidence he wanted for his own use: the emigrant restored by a decree of Buonaparte to his property demands back his teeth, which are refused: and

this makes the subject of a *procès* now at Paris. To these incidents the French are continually exposed either from accident or intention.

The next day I dined with General Sablakow ; Woronzow was of the party. In the evening I went to the Princesses Galitzin's and there received a message from the empress-mother by Strogonow expressing her majesty's wish to see me at Gatschina, fifty wersts from hence. We previously had gone to the play, and by mistake I took a friend into the Austrian ambassador's box instead of Lord Gower's. This was a conspicuous circumstance, as Savary for fifteen days has not been near Merveldt, having taken offence at his conduct. We indeed expect Merveldt to be recalled, as the Swedish ambassador has been, for slighting Buonaparte's lieutenant. After some time we changed boxes but still for the wrong one ; and the arrival of young Lord Gower alone rectified the mistake and placed us properly. Yesterday we dined with the Swedish ambassador—he is a pattern of a dignified Swedish nobleman ; afterwards went to a Russian play or pantomime in the style of Mother Goose. I was much amused ; the scenery and decorations were superb. Some of the ballet dancers had contrived to make gauze unusually transparent : the Bishop of London would have died with shame at one look. I visited in several of the boxes, purposely to show that the English are well received here and have powerful friends. The grand duke came within the range of fauteuils when I was there : he looked, smiled, and bowed, but never spoke : on my going away he sent for Savary as if to mark his displeasure. Of this prince I say but little : I did not call on him when

last in S. Petersburg; and he has reason to be less personally civil than heretofore.

Oct. 28.—On the 24th I had the mortification of receiving my letter addressed to the emperor returned unopened; as Count Tolstoy thought it treated of public business and suggested therefore that Count Romanzow was the proper person to deliver it. I was much vexed at Tolstoy's conduct, as this occasioned me delay and great trouble.

On the 25th young Talleyrand arrived from Paris, and we had advice of a peace with Turkey.

On the 26th, the empress's birthday, after dining with Woronzow I went to the masked ball given in her honour. I was not much amused; but there were seven hundred people present, and the variety of strange dresses was interesting. An officer's uniform is admitted. This is done for the sake of the guards, who by regulation are obliged always to appear en militaire.

Yesterday morning I was much occupied in my political affairs: and received useful information from the Duke of Serra Capreoli, the Neapolitan ambassador; who to an excellent understanding adds eighty years' experience.

October 30, just Midnight.

I dined with Count Orlov. After dinner went to Woronzow, Czartoryski, and Princess Woldemar Galtzin who had just returned from Gatschina, and who again brought the desire from the empress-mother that I would go and see her. This request was repeated to Count Strogonow both by herself and the Grand Duchess Catherine, with the additional compliment and satisfactory assurance that they felt the

greatest interest in my undertaking, and would do all in their power to promote success.

This morning I went to Count Romanzow and had with him my important interview;* it lasted an hour and a half. I say *important* as the essential interests of two great nations depended upon its issue. To me it was particularly interesting and serious: since the attention of every person in the city has been attracted to my mission, and good or ill success will in some degree be attributed to personal ability or incapacity. I say no more. These issues can only be disclosed by time.

I am overwhelmed with official correspondence yet must find time to study the language. My Russian master attends at eight in the morning, and it is now one A.M. and half my correspondence is not yet written. This study of Russian may at the moment appear unnecessary; but I love to be provided against futurity, and the present sacrifice may hereafter be compensated by unforeseen advantages.

Nov. 3.—On the 30th ultimo Colonel Arsinoeff took me to see the barracks and hospital of the Pberozaisky regiment of guards, where I was much pleased to find every part of the establishment in perfect order. From thence I went to the great hospital of the city excellent throughout in arrangement and cleanliness. In one wing was the “*Maison des Fous*.” Among the women there was no remarkable patient: but among the men there was a soldier of Arsinoeff; who on seeing him fell several times flat on his face, and said that he had long prayed for the soul of the colonel having heard that he was dead, but that he should now change his text and pray for him

* See Appendix, No. 12.

living. The manner of the unhappy lunatic and his sense of the infirmity which rendered him unfit for liberty were very affecting; more particularly as in figure he was one of the finest men I had ever seen. This evening I went to a grand ball given by Princess Balagomsky on her daughter's proposed marriage. The house is one of the finest in S. Petersburg, and the dancing-room the most splendid that can be imagined and in a character quite novel. About two hundred persons of the highest rank assembled; and every foreigner but General Savary was in uniform. The women were very handsome and particularly well dressed; but no feathers were worn. I had the honour of opening the ball with Countess Lieven, which pleased me as the French were mortified by the incident. But more honour awaited me; for the empress's sister Princess Amelia coming in soon after, I led her out as a partner. The supper was handsome, but all the ladies sat together which I considered a most unnatural custom. After supper Princess Amelia desired me to dance the Polonaise with her, or rather to walk it as it is only a parade march. This completed my English triumph; as it was a decisive proof of her disposition in present times, and under existing circumstances a daring confirmation. I have no doubt that Savary will notice it with displeasure. I did not reach home until four o'clock in the morning: but rose at eight for my Russian lesson.

In the course of this morning I received a *most remarkable communication!* Having lent my helmet to Nariskin for a few hours I could not walk out; so I *was kept a prisoner until my carriage came, when I*

acted upon the advice of my private counsellor as to a change of residence.

Nov. 5.—On the 3rd I went to Madame Nariskin's, where I had a long conversation with the Danish minister, who is becoming more reasonable as he perceives that our conduct to Denmark was not so strong-handed as circumstances might have justified. He begins to think that his calculations were erroneous, and that a French garrison will not respect private property so much as a British force did. also that in the whole French army there is not so honourable an officer as Lord Cathcart; to whose scrupulous justice all Denmark renders homage. My friend Sir Home, however, does not escape so well.

Yesterday I dined with Gower who gave an entertainment to Countess Orlow, Merveldt, and the Duchess of Serra Capreoli. After dinner Orlow would wrestle with me. We broke two of Gower's chairs and he was thrown thrice. Finding that though vanquished he persevered from mortification, I suffered him to press me down upon a sofa; choosing rather to retain a friend than to acquire gymnastic glory.

Lovisa, November 10.

On Wednesday young Lion Nariskin came to ask Gower whether as he was going away he would not sell his horses. This was suspicious; and *I was resolved to ascertain the cause for such a remarkable supposition.* In the evening I learnt that *Madame Nariskin had said that the emperor was to declare war in a day or two: but that our unexpected evacuation of Zealand required a change in the text of the manifesto; which had been transmitted from France on*

the Monday, with a most violent letter stating that Buonaparte must receive the subscription of this act by the emperor or that he should be forced to publish all the secret articles of a treaty which the emperor was already beginning to violate. On the Thursday I dined with Madame Nariskin; she was remarkably civil, but did not say a word on general politics. In the evening I went to Princess Galitzin's and we were all melancholy from anticipation. Friday and Saturday were passed almost as usual; but with more anxiety as the crisis approached. On the Sunday morning Lord Gower received his dismissal from S. Petersburg in a note extremely violent as to individuals but most feeble as to public matter. Indeed, what could the emperor say when he felt that he was *obeying*, not acting of his own free will? I shall be much surprised if this consent does not cost him as dear as it did his father; who certainly did not adopt his measures from pusillanimity.

I had just been to tell Lord Gower that he might positively expect the declaration in a few hours, as I had seen a person to whom the paper was privately read. Gower sent for me immediately and asked me if I chose to be the herald. Conceiving that I was but doing my duty, however painful the charge, by accepting the despatches, I agreed. I instantly prepared for my journey in the old phaeton, but with a new servant—Lawrence—a Saxon, whom I had taken in consequence of several repeated counsels on this subject; by which my change of residence, as mentioned before, was also enforced. I passed the day in taking leave of my friends who all felt ashamed, astounded, and in despair, at the conduct

of their sovereign. I wish that he could have heard and seen what I did in some of these interviews.

At three o'clock in the morning I left S. Petersburg—with sorrow for the cause—with some anxiety for myself—but with joy at the prospect of thus again arriving in my own country, &c. I journeyed on as usual diligently, but with the usual delays. Yesterday evening one of the horses took fright, flew aside, and broke my pole in two close to the bolt. Lawrence was invaluable; his activity and diligence enabled us to proceed; but at great peril, as the pole tied to the splinter bar went in one direction and the wheels in another. The road too by which we had to pass was very narrow, lined with large and small rocks, with great eminences down which we were obliged to rush at speed as the pole would not stay the carriage. At one moment we were on the balance—the hind wheel poised high in air—when we jumped out. I cannot account for our escape on reasonable principles. Of all the perils I have ever encountered on land I know none greater than this of last night. In the course of the night I passed Prince Galitzin on his way from England: but I did not stop, being anxious to clear the Russian frontier. How extraordinary that I should seriously write the above sentence and have sufficient reason!

Peterholm, an Island in the Gulf of Bothnia,
150 weasts from Abo November 14.

After a rapid journey—for I now found everywhere good horses—but through manifold dangers, I reached Abo on the morning of the 13th; and immediately hired a vessel as the wind was favourable. While at the inn my old Swedish acquaint-

ance came in from Lovisa: he wished me to stay all night as the governor was going to give a ball, but the wealth of Croesus and the fêtes of Calypso would not have prevailed with me to delay an hour. With much trouble and actual persecution of the ship-master I got the vessel, a very small boat, under weigh: and through snow-storm and tempest we reached this anchorage this morning. I hoped by the offer of twenty thalers to induce the captain to get through the great passage this evening, but he declared that one hundred thalers should not tempt him. The fact is that these people steer neither by compass nor by land, but are obliged as they approach the coast to look at little sticks placed in the water which mark the shallows; so that dark weather exposes them to certain destruction if they miss the river, as they have no haven to run to. No one hates the sea and danger more than I do: but I fear more not to do my duty to the utmost.

I am truly astonished at the comfort that prevails here. If these islands had a fine climate they would be heavenly abodes: yet hardly so; for there are no female angels. Perhaps, however, beauty might be engendered by climate and is the essential production. In possession of the information which I am bearing home my regret is excited as much as my sympathy is interested. What part of the globe will be six months hence free from the miseries of war?

If the shock of contending sovereigns could be confined to the field of battle what a noble profession would be that of the soldier! he would not only be the champion of his king and honour but of the people of the world. The British soldier indeed has

the advantage of erranting for his service. He seeks his glory abroad while his countrymen have the great but not sufficiently esteemed benefit of reposing by his foreign achievements in quiet at home. England! happy England! with the whole Christian world in arms against you—except the King of Sicily and Austria, the former of whom you defend while the latter looks to you for protection—still you may remain a soil sacred from the horrors of the strife of nations! Still you may prove yourself invincible in your heaven-directed might, and terrible to your enemies abroad! Still you may ride triumphant through the storm, that sweeps over all other kingdoms with bloody desolation!

I would hang the first pusillanimous knave that whispered—Peace; for at this moment peace is the confession of weakness and of terror. If peace could be honourable, with joy I would promote it; for as a man I am weary of this war, never ending, still beginning, and which renders my life a distraction: but I cannot dismiss patriotism from my heart; for not even Pitt loved his country's fame more than I do.

I much doubt whether three winter passages across the Gulf of Bothnia are not equal to the devotion of the Decii. What a rude year of my life has this been!

Gothenberg, November 18

I sailed from Peterholm at daybreak and reached Stockholm at ten o'clock at night. On entering the inn I had the satisfaction of finding Lord Hutchinson, Eustace, and a Mr. Bruce there. Lord H. was most glad to see me and sat up with me till four o'clock.

I told him my news, under an oath of secrecy for forty-eight hours ; and I despatched the important tidings to the king. While we were together I received information that Proudman the messenger, who had left S. Petersburg six days before me, and also the Russian courier whom it was an object of my anxiety to outstrip, were then arriving at the inn. I sent for Proudman instantly, took his despatches, directed him to proceed to Helsingborg, and desired him to detain the Russian courier as long as possible. He presently returned and told me that the Russian was well inclined to stay all night at Stockholm. I instantly took leave of Lord H. and started again. The night was very cold, sometimes snow, sometimes rain : few would have braved it in carts and gigs without cover or springs ; weary, cold, wet ; and dirty to abomination. I arrived here this morning after much unnecessary and vexatious delay. I instantly wrote a complaint officially to Mr. Bethune, our chargé d'affaires, and requested him to represent the abuses of the post regulations to the king ; as not only the public service of England but the common interest of all nations receives detriment. I am assured that the letter will produce the intended effect with severe censure for the past. I hope never to profit in person by the amendment, for I have done with couriering if a soldier can fix a resolution ; but my successors will thank me, and the public welfare is my reward.

A packet was instantly put at my disposal but the wind became foul. On the 19th I embarked and we set sail with a south-east wind. It soon became violent, but we stood in several leagues until a heavy

snow-storm wrapped the day almost in utter darkness. It was impossible to proceed, as we had to pass numerous rocks where eyes and not compass must find the channel. The snow-storm thickened, and the wind rose with tempestuous fury. Our only chance was to beat back into what we thought a safe anchorage, but the success of the effort was long doubtful; and the blast rushed upon our sails as if resolved to rend them to shreds and annihilate the quivering bark. About eight P.M., after we had anchored, the wind veered to south-west and raged a perfect hurricane; while the lightning gleamed and launched its forked fires without a moment's intermission. Towards six o'clock in the morning I was awakened by the sensation of the vessel striking the ground. I hoped that I had imagined the shock, and yet the Anholt emotions were too familiar to allow me reasonably to indulge the hope. In half an hour all doubt was removed. The vessel struck every minute. She had driven during the night near the rocky shore, so that she had only six inches more water than she drew, and as the waves passed she sunk upon ground. Fortunately on this spot there was sedge; so that we had hope of escaping serious damage; but we could not improve our position. No boat could row ahead with a second anchor on which we could strain forward: and it was impossible to change our berth; as we dared not make sail, not only on account of the storm, but because a promontory of rocks was ready to receive us the moment we attempted to get into deeper water. Truly there never was a more unfortunate position chosen for anchoring, or, I must add, one more ignorantly taken.

The vessel kept striking incessantly, sometimes very heavily ; and the violence of the wind increased until there was the most ferocious discharge of the whirlwind's artillery that was ever witnessed by the oldest sailor in Gothenberg. The surface of the sea around us was covered as with snow : and from it was torn a pulverized foam, that appeared like the smoke of cannon, and was carried above half a mile beyond the shore into a bordering wood.

In this tremendous contest of the elements the topmasts of numerous vessels were descried ; and only their topmasts for a considerable time, as their hulls were hidden by the atmosphere of spume : but when they approached, the prows were seen laboriously buffeting the surge which "seemed to climb the shrouds with deafening clamours." A more interesting and a more superb spectacle could not be seen. It was a fleet of merchant ships from Elsinore : which had so happily found a shelter, after pressing to attain the asylum through the highest billows that the ocean might could heave.

About two o'clock, as the vessel struck so frequently and rudely, the captain resolved upon an attempt to heave upon his anchor. Fortunately he succeeded, and by drawing forward about the length of the vessel we gained a foot more water, so that she ceased to strike ; but the cable was perilously short. However, I now thought that I might retire with honour, and I signalled several pilot-boats which passed : they paid no more attention to our flag or gun than the wretches did when we were ashore on the Anholt. Indeed I did not expect their exertion, as I have learnt by experience to distrust gratuitous

adventure in need from any sailors but our own countrymen.

As there was a little lull about three o'clock the captain offered me his boat. I accepted it; and with Lawrence pushed off with some difficulty. She was well manned. We reached the shore in safety, and I gladly commenced a long walk to Gothenberg; where we arrived to the great satisfaction of my friends who had been very uneasy.

Nov. 23.—Fierce winds and contrary have kept me here. This morning I have been to Captain Ellis commanding the *Spitfire*, who has kindly placed at my disposal the *Snipe* gun-brig, Captain Champion. I partly owe this to Captain Haines of the *Hebe*, who interested himself much for me. Indeed, wherever I have been, the naval officers have commanded my most grateful acknowledgments for their friendship, zeal, and hospitality. In the present instance I have been enabled I hope to serve them. My information and a letter which I have written will put them in the way of prizes; as several Russian ships are in convoy.

November 25, *Snipe*, at Sea.

Yesterday morning Captain Haines came to me from his ship at half-past seven. We breakfasted together; and during breakfast the estafette returned whom I had sent to Mr. Pierrepont at Marstrand with the intelligence for government of the despatches with which I was charged; so that in the case of his arriving first in England they might know the important tidings which I was conveying.

At the time I sent the estafette there was little chance of my obtaining any other vessel than a

packet; so that the *Folkestone* lugger was certain of first reaching an English port. Mr. Pierrepont informed me that he should sail on the 23rd as he was then getting under weigh.

We got into the boat and passed my packet which was also preparing to sail. I believe she did not do so; as the weather became unfavourable soon afterwards for voyages which were not compulsory.

At ten o'clock we weighed anchor, Captain Ellis having come on board the *Snipe* to take leave of me. This morning we cleared the Sleeve which is the most serious part of the passage. Both shores are guarded now by enemies. The *Snipe* is a fine vessel and the accommodation sufficient; the hospitality of Lieutenant Champion unbounded.

Epsom, December 2, 1807.

I had scarcely finished the journal of the 25th, when the wind became foul and we were again the sport of the elements, which seemed resolved to render navigation impracticable, or at least fatal to those who dared their power. When prudence required that every sail should have been stowed away except the storm-sail we were obliged to carry all, in order to weather a lee-shore and afterwards to force a passage. Such is the advantage of a courier's appointment at sea.

The vessel rolled in the water like a deep-loaded collier, and the bulkheads kept up a continual scream. Our actual longitude too was uncertain from the force of currents. We buffeted in this manner until the 29th when the wind changed and blew fair: and the next morning, to the consternation of the pilot who was eighty miles astern and to the credit of Lieu-

tenant Champion who was three leagues ahead with his reckoning, we made the land near Scarborough. It was our intention to sail into the Humber, but when we were under Flamborough Head the wind failed. We stood into Darlington where I landed about six P.M. This place was two hundred and fifty miles from London: but with what joy did I look at the milestones! For a few hours before we should have been glad to secure the Orkneys; about which I imagine Mr. Pierrepont is now beating in the *Folkestone* lugger, which sailed twenty-four hours before us from Marstrand; a more favourable point of departure than Gothenberg in the then prevailing wind. I soon sprang into a post-chaise bidding adieu to Lieutenant Champion, to whose zeal, attention, and seamanship, the country (as well as myself) is indebted; for my early arrival was of moment to the state.

At speed I passed over this road* most interesting to me. Every place afforded exciting recollection; and time and space were gaily distanced.

At four this morning I found Mr. Canning in his bed and communicated my intelligence. All my conduct was approved, and my diligence highly commended as particularly important on the present occasion. Indeed I have laboured hard. If it does not affect my constitution I shall not remember the service with regret; but it is almost unreasonable to hope that the human frame can undergo so much as I have done in the last year without some serious shattering.

From Mr. Canning I embarked in another post-

* It was the road which Sir R. Wilson traversed on the occasion of his marriage.—Ed.

chaise to remain incognito for twenty-four hours. Here is my post until breakfast to-morrow with the minister in London. I am now awaiting my wife and my brother.

Thus terminates for some time the narrative of my proceedings out of England: and God be thanked that I have been so well enabled to encounter the past!

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

No. 1.

BATTLES OF AUERSTADT AND JENA, OCTOBER 14TH, 1806

THE battles of Auerstadt and of Jena were fought on the same day, and were in every respect two distinct actions. That of Auerstadt was lost by the king at the head of 60,000 men, in which number there were 120 squadrons of cavalry : that of Jena by Prince Hohenlohe at the head of 35,000 men, in which there were 25 squadrons of cavalry ; and by a second division under the orders of General Rüchel, whose force amounted to 15,000.

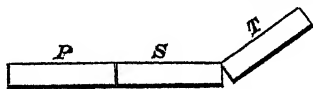
The Prussians, previously to their movement in consequence of their left flank being turned, occupied a position from Jena to Erfurt ; Prince Hohenlohe commanding the division on the left, the king the centre, and General Rüchel the right. When intelligence arrived that the French had penetrated to Leipsic, Nuremburg, &c., which exposed the rear of the Prussian army, the king with the central troops marched : and on the second day was informed that a corps of men under General Davoust had crossed the Saal, and occupied the chaussée along which he proposed to move. The king and the Duke of Brunswick proceeded to reconnoitre . and the duke was wounded as he was leaning out of his carriage in the act of observing through his telescope. The queen was within fifty paces at the same time : and the king now suffered her to depart, and put himself at the head of his army as the Duke of Brunswick could no longer act : but until the moment of his wound the duke had the actual direction. The Prussian army, confined to the chaussée by mountains, could not deploy : so that Marshal Davoust was enabled to keep his position with 30,000 men, against 60,000 gallantly

led and frequently animated to the charge by the intrepid example of the king himself, who had two horses shot under him. At length finding all efforts ineffectual to dislodge the enemy, the king determined to retire upon Prince Hohenlohe; of whose misfortune he was then ignorant. At this instant General Blücher offered to charge with the cavalry; as he imagined that by making a little *détour* he could break in upon the enemy. But the king refused his assent as so much blood had already been spilt: and the columns were put in motion for Weimar, where they fell in with the routed division of Prince Hohenlohe. The French had early in the morning commenced an attack upon Prince Hohenlohe with their main army, commanded by the emperor. Mountainous woods, and valleys, covered their line from the view of the Prussians: but in front was a plain on which were posted the *tirailleurs*, cavalry, and artillery. These *tirailleurs*, cavalry, and artillery were relieved as regularly as sentinels: and as they extended their line finally to the length of two leagues, fresh columns occupied the intervals, and occasionally the cavalry charged as the Prussians gave way; so that the battle of Jena was strictly an affair of *tirailleurs*, cavalry, and artillery: nor did the French line ever appear until the Prussians were retreating. For many hours the Prussians maintained their ground against an immense superiority; and a cessation of fire for a few minutes from a village which the French had occupied early, gave a momentary hope that victory had declared against the French. But just at the moment that the Prince Hohenlohe had resolved to charge into the village with the infantry, and was disposing corps of reserve to support that attack, the regiment of Kaunitz grenadiers gave way: and the example of one corps influenced all the rest; who fled in disorder and who had unfortunately too few cavalry to cover their retreat with effect: but night finally proved their shelter. General Ruchel also advanced to support Prince Hohenlohe's corps; and meeting the French about half-way from Erfurt to Jena was himself beaten. Prince Hohenlohe's corps and the king's army met at Weimar, where was also the baggage; so that the confusion was considerable and a part of the king's army mechanically but

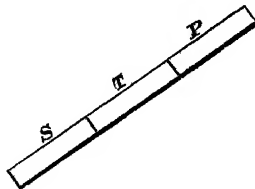
most ignorantly pursuing the chaussée that led to Erfurt, was then obliged to capitulate. The others who had more presence of mind struck off to gain Magdeburgh, and the country where the French were not.

The queen, who had fled from Auerstadt, met General Rüchel after the defeat of Prince Hohenlohe. The general gave her a route written with his pencil on a card. But she was obliged to go through Erfurt: and the French were once so near as to observe and pursue her carriage, until a thick wood enabled her escort to take a new direction.

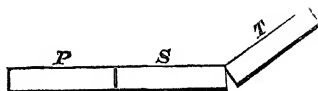
Thus terminated the ill-planned but well-fought battles of Jena and Auerstadt. By the confinement of the king's army to a chaussée, a very inferior French force gained a splendid success: and the absence of that very cavalry which injured the king, was the cause of the disaster which ruined Prince Hohenlohe. The corps under the prince had displayed the greatest intrepidity and discipline, and one movement which they made under a very heavy fire has commanded the eulogium of the enemy. At the commencement of the action the Prussian corps was thus formed *en potence* :—



Tauenzein's corps, which had been driven in after the affair at Saalfeldt in which Prince Louis fell, was on the left, the Saxons on its right, and the Prussians again on their right. The French having attacked the left, it was necessary to change the position of the army, and as there appeared to be some reluctance on the part of the Saxons to take the post of danger, the Prussians from the right marched, and formed on the left of Tauenzein; whilst the Saxons advanced and formed in the same alignment: so that the corps then stood thus:—



instead of



and the attack was made in *échelon* from the left.

During the whole of this movement it appears that the French were cannonading with all their artillery: and yet there was as much order preserved as if the troops were at a review exercise.

Prince Hohenlohe committed no error in the field: but the want of men and the heavy loss he sustained in officers and soldiers occasioned his misfortune. All accounts agree that the French cavalry behaved with daring resolution: their *tirailleurs* were as usual active, but their artillery was not so well served as the Prussian.

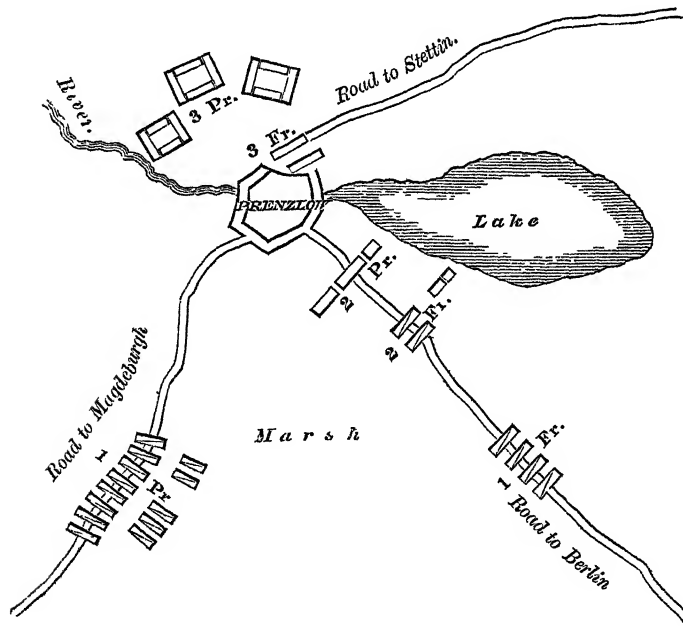
Buonaparte did not expose himself during the action. On the contrary he provided against the probability of danger by dressing in an old patched grey coat: when he reconnoitred holding a led horse as if he was only a groom, so that no fire might be directed particularly against him. Few of his officers, except the Duke of Berg, hazarded their persons; but he was particularly gallant: nor was it known that Buonaparte commanded in person until the day after the action. Amongst the Prussians 2,000 officers were either killed or some way secured; and not in flight: but the French *tirailleurs* always directed their fire against them when they advanced, and were enabled to distinguish them by their marked dress.

It is to be lamented that the last act of the tragedy is not so honourable to Prince Hohenlohe. But an incessant march of fifteen days, with the miserable circumstances that daily occurred from fatigue and want of food, combined with the painful recollections that must have continually distracted, shook, and finally impaired the mind of a gallant and generous prince who could boast that previously to the battle of Jena he had in sixty-two affairs beaten the French, ought to be considered: and an allowance should be made for the feebleness of human nature when exposed to such a tissue of complicated ills.

Prince Hohenlohe with 12,000 men had nearly reached Prenzlau ; after a severe march in which he was pressed by the Duke of Berg, who at the head of 5,000 cavalry was marching on the chaussée from Berlin in order to gain this town and intercept him ; since he was obliged to pass through it on his way to Stettin. On the right of Prenzlau is a river, on the left a lake : and a marshy ground separates the roads on which the Prussians and French were moving. Part of the Prussian column had entered the town, without posting any force to defend the gates and secure the retreat of the remainder, when the French commenced with their guns an attack on the gateway. A regiment from the Prussian rear was ordered to form in front, and the cavalry to take post also there until the army had passed : but the French dragoons charged, routed the Prussian horse and infantry, and entered pell-mell into the town with the fugitives. The Prussians rushed through : leaving many prisoners, their ammunition-waggons, which had been left in the rear instead of being put in front of the corps as they should be on a retreat in such a case, and the bread which had been prepared for them at Prenzlau, of which refreshment the troops stood in the greatest need. Prince Hohenlohe endeavoured now to form his corps in the plain beyond the town into squares : and returning into the streets was met by an officer with a flag of truce who demanded his surrender. Almost at the same moment Prince Murat and the chiefs of the corps rode up, and with vehement action entreated the prince to capitulate, as he was surrounded by 100,000 men marching in various directions. The French officers followed Prince Hohenlohe among his own troops ; who were stupified, or they might have taken them prisoners. Prince Hohenlohe now sent Colonel Massembach, his quartermaster-general, to see if the fact which Prince Murat stated was true. He returned after some time and gave it as his opinion that the prince should capitulate. So then 12,000 men when within five German miles of Stettin, laid down their arms to 5,000 who were never reinforced for many hours afterwards. Such a want of common intelligence in the conduct of this column is scarcely to be paralleled for with the precaution that a serjeant

ought to have known how to use, Prenzlau could have been secured and the troops refreshed and with the loss of a small rear-guard they would have reached Stettin in safety; which might have produced the most important results. But while Prince Hohenlohe is accused of imbecility even for eventually surrendering, Colonel Massembach his quartermaster-general is loudly charged with treachery: since besides his behaviour on this occasion he purposely, as it is said, lost two days by shallow artifices in the movement of the army from Magdeburgh.

As an explanation of this affair I subjoin the following sketch;—



1, 1—Position of the French and Prussians when they first discovered each other.

2, 2—Second position occupied by the rear battalion of the Prussians and the French previous to their change.

3—Third position when they surrendered

No. 2.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HUTCHINSON.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE given you an official narrative of the battle : and I believe that there is not a single fact exaggerated. Indeed, the bravery of the Russians exceeds all praise, and requires no colouring. Nevertheless, if great talents should triumph when great means are under their direction, Buonaparte has been more oppressed by fortune than any man I know. General Beningsen is the hero, if personal courage forms that character. But independently of the want of great tact he is too slow to order ; and his assistants embarrass rather than aid him. He labours also under the disadvantage of being a foreigner. The charge of the Russians was successful ; but Beningsen hazarded the glory of the day by quitting his position with troops who are not sufficiently experienced in war to act vigorously and prudently : there was consequently at one time great disorder, and in the rear of the camp columns of vagabonds were passing to and from their battalions *ad libitum*. In some respects this army resembles the Turkish army : but in the charge of their close columns, their determined bearing of the bayonet, and their order for close action, they are equalled only by the British. The want of provisions has been attended with fatal consequences to their discipline. They now plunder without discrimination, and some severe examples must be made.

The hardships which they have gone through may plead some excuse for their desire of food, stores, &c. ; but this is now rushing into licentiousness.

If I had been told that men could live as the poor Russians have been doing, now for six weeks, I could not have believed it. Black bread, snow for water, and snow only to lie on, is tremendous suffering. However, officers have not been at their ease ; and we have generally been eighteen hours out of twenty-four on horseback. We literally had no food all day yesterday. I wonder General Besingsen with the oppression of responsibility can bear the fatigue.

I am of opinion that Buonaparte is retiring. We cannot

follow him except with a detached force ; but the Cossacks, whose hetman arrived the day before yesterday with us, and who is a very handsome intelligent fellow, will do him mischief, for they have guns : and Essen may cautiously assist. If the rest of the work is done well, now that the arch of triumph is formed, I really think great successes will follow rapidly. The French army is discontented, dispirited, disgraced, starving, and harassed to death. The chance of uninterrupted success is also now entirely dispelled : for the affair of Pultusk certainly impressed them strongly in favour of the Russian power ; and the defiance of the rear-guard was such as to daunt the bravest.

I am within bounds when I ascribe 15,000 men as the French loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners since the 13th of this month.

I never saw so many dismal objects as the field of battle yesterday presented. It was indeed truly terrible : and at this moment hundreds of wretches are lying on the ground without help.

Your brother's horse was wounded , and the explosion of a shell as I was riding with him marked his face.

The army here ought to repose at least three weeks : that time is necessary to restore order : but six weeks must pass before they can complete the battalions ; some of which are actually annihilated to a man.

Ever yours faithfully,
R. W.

I have written to Adam.

I forgot to mention that on the 6th one of the Princes Galitzin was killed. On the 9th Buonaparte's horse was struck.

Barclay must lose his arm.

No. 2 A.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HUTCHINSON.

Head Quarters, Gen Beningsen,
Mohrungen, February 1st, 1807.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE corps under the command of General Lestocq having pushed to the neighbourhood of Graudenz, we proceeded to this place distant 95 miles from Königsberg, and I have the satisfaction to state, were received by General Beningsen with a welcome and frankness that at once removed all uneasiness as to any embarrassments we might experience from a contrary demeanour

The time has been too short to allow of my transmitting any information from less suspicious channels than our headquarters: but I will attempt to give an outline of what has passed; and my intelligence is chiefly obtained from General Tolstoy, an officer who appears to be very able and who from his situation must be well informed.

The affair of Pultusk was in character no more than you described it to be; but from every account the French certainly lost a considerable number of men, and you may be more disposed to credit this when you know that they twice exposed themselves to the fire of 130 pieces of cannon. General Milhaud was killed; Trailland lost both his legs and is since dead at Warsaw; Rapp his arm, and other officers of note whose names I forget suffered. Had not the positive orders of General Kamenskoi prevented two divisions on the left and General Buxhowden on the right from co-operating, a result would have been secured equal to the success of any decisive battle; as it terminated General Tolstoy designates it as *une affaire manquée*. The Russians retired in order the next day, and the French also retreated. General Beningsen then went to Ostrolenka; from thence to Novogorod, where after he had crossed the Narew he received the chief command. He then, to pass the river again, was obliged to move to Tykoczyn since his bridge at Lomza was carried away. The Bober river afterwards baffled all his attempts to pass near Jazienowo, and he was finally obliged to mount

as high as Nowydwor where he crossed. He then took the route to Biälla, and from Biälla to Ayr; from Ayr to Rensen or Rhem; from thence to Rossel; and from thence to Liebstadt, where he first fell in with Bernadotte's column and had a slight affair in which the French lost a whole squadron at an outpost: a second occurrence of a similar nature to one which took place in this march; as Ney had previously lost a squadron.

On the 25th General Markow, understanding from various reports that the French were not more than 4,000 men strong two miles in front of Mohrungen, advanced with nine battalions to drive them from a strong position which they occupied: but General Bernadotte at the instant arriving with 8,000 men, the French became the assailants; and although the Russians maintained their ground they must have been forced finally with great loss, if Prince Galitzin had not come up with a reinforcement of 35 squadrons who prevented the French altogether from advancing. An anecdote is officially sent to the Emperor. that during this affair two columns of the Crapauds deploying from a ravine formed line, and moved to the charge of bayonets with a good countenance against two battalions of Russian grenadiers; who instead of firing burst out into a shout of laughter, which so discomposed the *amour propre* of the assailants that they turned on their heels and fled, when they were saluted with a shower of musketry: and it is said that this scene was repeated with equal effect.

This action cost the Russians 700 men *hors de combat*, and the French lost nearly double; without including 400 made prisoners in this town at the close of the action by some enterprising dragoons, who also took out of the house and the room in which I am now lodged and writing, Bernadotte's baggage. Their booty was immense, for the money that a marshal of France had exacted from the inhabitants was in the chests, and there were also found in them silver cups, candlesticks, &c. with the arms of almost every nation in Germany engraved on them "to record the dishonour of the plunder." General Bernadotte returned in the evening and to his sorrow beheld naked walls and an empty kitchen.

The loss of General Arndrett however counterbalanced this success. He was an officer much esteemed and of high reputation. He fell at the close of the action in front of the town by an unlucky straggling shot.

I can discover that Markow has incurred displeasure for the rashness of an enterprize that might by combination have proved fatal to the whole corps of Bernadotte.

The French retired during the night, and the Russian army daily making numerous prisoners have, at this moment, pushed their advanced posts in front of Osterode and Neumark, whilst Lestocq has advanced to Garnsee.

During this march, which occupied sixteen days successively, the Russians were frequently in defiles, when between the lakes, which offered the enemy most considerable advantage; but it appears that Buonaparte was not aware of General Beningsen's plan, that he calculated on Bernadotte having taken up his winter quarters, and that it is only from the menacing approach of the Russians that he has left Warsaw (where, strange to say, he has been amusing himself with dancing) to put himself at the head of his army at Przasnic. Yesterday General Essen, with 50,000 men, was to attack the French at Ostrolenka, and much, very much, depends upon the issue of that conflict. General Beningsen does not seek a general action, but he is prepared to receive one if offered; and indeed he has no alternative since his late movements: yet a previous communication with Essen would be of the greatest importance, and a combined resistance would give the Russians a very decisive numerical superiority. General Beningsen's own army is 80,000 effective. His sick amount to 8,000, and since the campaign he has lost altogether 21,000 men. In fourteen days he is to be joined by 20,000 Cossacks who reached Grodno yesterday, but long before this the fate of Europe must be decided unless Buonaparte takes up the position on the Oder, of which intention he has given notice to the Austrians, who on the other hand have given orders to the commander of their troops in Galicia to resist any violation of their territory, and in case of the French army or any part breaking through the line of neu-

trality to put himself under the orders of the Russian general immediately.

Almost every hour some reports are brought in from the outposts, of prisoners being taken. Yesterday in one village 80 were made, and 150 men put to the sword. A major was taken in another quarter; and within this hour I have seen an officer who had been sent from Warsaw as courier, and who was taken on his return from Marshal Ney with despatches. The tenor of his papers announces an immediate battle and his opinion coincides with them.

The whole French army has concentrated, and Prince Murat is at Ortelsburg with the cavalry, who the Russians pretend are very inferior to their own and if we may judge from the number of cavalry prisoners made, the Russians are at least not daunted by their late acquired reputation.

I have been carefully inquiring and examining the reports of the advanced posts, and I find a system that I did not expect. The intelligence and enterprize are proved by the fact of their continual success.

The officers who form the staff of General Beningsen prepossess one much in their favour. They are all such as ought to be employed; being either men of experience or active young men.

The quartermaster-general who is in rank senior to General Beningsen is here, and appears to be a prudent and intelligent officer.

February 2nd, 1807.

The head-quarters are about to move forward on the road to Allenstein; so it appears that General Beningsen imagines the French will attempt to pass between him and Essen. This is a bold enterprize, but under the present circumstances not improbable; so keep a good look-out at Memel. Fortunately the Cossacks now on march will prevent any daring movements of the French cavalry; but I shall not be surprised if, for a time, the enemy occupy the country between this and the Memel. If Buonaparte resolves on the project of turning the left of the Russians you must hear that either his army or ours are prisoners.

We march at twelve o'clock. Our horses from Königsberg are not yet arrived. Very fortunately, indeed, did I recommend the purchase of two. Not any, however bad, are to be here obtained.

Lestocq is at Freystadt this day.

A courier has this instant been brought in with the whole plan of Buonaparte's movements. The armies are in march: we go off instantly. To-morrow or the day after the fate of the world is to be decided. The scene of action will probably be near Willenburg. Lestocq is ordered to Osterode *au plus vite*.

Believe me, ever yours,

R. WILSON.

Bernadotte escaped last night miraculously.

His hat, coat, and sword were taken by some Cossacks in his house.

Hermesdoff, near Guttstadt, February 4th, 1807.

The head-quarters moved to Jonkowo on the 2nd at night, and the army took up a position which was far from advantageous, but the best the country would admit of. On the 3rd we expected battle, but as the enemy did not appear in force and Bernadotte was known to be on march to turn our right, General Beningsen determined in the evening to face Allenstein, and move with the rest of the army to gain the right of the French and restore the communication with Essen: but as the advanced guard was moving for this purpose under Prince Galitzin, the enemy advanced with a strong body of cavalry and infantry with several batteries, and began an affair by endeavouring to occupy in front a wood which divided the two armies. Soon afterwards they advanced, and twice gained a bridge which it was necessary to pass, over a deep ravine now filled with snow, and which lay in front and on the right of their line. Two battalions of the Russians stationed there charged the French and repulsed them with considerable loss, and finally maintained the bridge; but they suffered much in the charge from the fire of a battalion stationed to protect those that had passed the bridge. The action was very brisk in this quarter

and lasted two hours. On the left of the French line they advanced with their cavalry so far from the wood that the Russian hussars charged and drove them back; but from the fire of the artillery they themselves lost thirty men and one hundred horses. In this slight affair the Russian infantry and cavalry showed much spirit, and the cry of the former to the charge was highly animating. When the action ceased as the night closed General Beningsen had to determine what measures he ought to pursue; for a report was brought that the enemy had pushed to Güttsstadt, making there a flying hospital, and baking bread for six thousand men: all the prisoners confirmed the account that the intention of Buonaparte was to gain the left and the rear of the Russians. As the position which General Beningsen occupied was in no way one that it was proper to maintain, he resolved upon moving here during the night; and we marched at midnight. Lestocq was also ordered to Liebstadt from Osterode. We moved in three columns, and Prince Bagrathion was to come off with the rear-guard at seven o'clock A.M. Some cannon-shot heard on our march assures us that he has been followed, but I believe only feebly. The critical situation which we are in must be evident to you. An imaginary interest has endangered the real interests of the Russian empire: but General Beningsen has judiciously resolved not to risk a battle if he can avoid it: and I have strongly represented to General Tolstoy and the government how much one was to be avoided, if practicable; using your arguments and, *confidentially*, your opinion. The general proposes to retire this night to Landsberg, covering this march by the partial occupation of Heilsberg, as if he was going to have his headquarters there (which is my plan). He hopes to move in four columns, and to gain Allenstein in four or five days, where he is safe: but Lestocq is to throw himself upon Königsberg, and General Beningsen will tranquillize the king by taking a position to menace any force moving there. No doubt there is some danger in this movement: and I wished to relieve the embarrassment by sending off every incumbrance to Königsberg, even the heavy artillery having experienced the difficulty that unnecessary guns occasion when the pas-

sage is to be forced. Nevertheless I hope that we shall reach our point without any serious misfortune, when I will communicate more freely with you. At present I can only mention that I never saw a more martial army. Their discipline is good; their marching is regular; and, considering what they have gone through, their appearance is admuable. The infantry are all equal to what you saw in England. The cavalry are excellent, with truly warlike bearing, and even the infantry exult in their courage. The artillery is well appointed, and draws through *fossés* of snow that astonish me to look at. In short, I never saw better *mains*.

The Prussian government ought instantly to form some magazines on the Strand Haff, and take the necessary precautions for Lestocq's safety if he withdraws as is now proposed.

How much I wish you could see this army! Report has done them wrong; even the Cossacks are more respectable than you have believed, and there is no more robbery and pillage than is always the practice of friends and foes. Instead of inhabitants flying, we have seen poultry of all kinds confidently strutting on the dunghills.

General Beningsen has treated us with the greatest kindness, mounted us on his best horses, and always placed us at head-quarters, where he expects us to live at his table as the emperor's aides-de-camp. All the princes and generals, colonels, subalterns, &c. strive to show us attention.

The Russian army here is certainly eighty thousand strong. I have passed above forty thousand in the divisions stated at that amount.

You must excuse this last hurried division of my letter.

Have no fear for us. we shall get through; and woe to those that attempt to oppose us. For once believe my prediction, that this army will fight a battle worthy to decide the fate of an empire.

No. 2 B.

BARON HARDENBERG TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.*

Vous verrez par les incluses que j'ai eu raison en vous disant aujourd'hui au dîner de la Reine, mon cher Chevalier, que Lord Hutchinson avait refusé le payement des cent mille livres sterling au Général Budberg, et combien peu ce ministre s'y est attendu. Je suis véritablement peiné d'avoir été compromis dans cette affaire, et j'avoue que je ne conçois rien aux difficultés qui ont fait changer de résolution à Milord. Dites-moi, je vous prie, si vos représentations ont fait quelque effet. Pourquoi serait-il plus autorisé à donner la somme en question à son retour qu'à présent? Les motifs seront-ils plus valables alors? Le besoin est bien constaté par la lettre du Général Budberg à moi, et le nôtre n'est pas moins urgent.

Si Milord ne croit pas pouvoir avancer de l'argent à la Russie, qu'il donne encore ces cent mille livres à la Prusse, la somme entière sera d'abord versée dans les caisses de l'Empereur, et de cette manière au moins nous souffrons aux besoins les plus pressés d'une cause qui intéresse sans doute la Grande Bretagne autant que nous.

Veillez avoir la bonté de me rendre les incluses demain au matin de bonne heure. Bon soir.

P. HARDENBERG.

Ce 22 de Mai, 1807.

No. 3.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HUTCHINSON.

MY DEAR LORD,

Königsberg, February 9th, 1807

I HAVE the satisfaction to communicate that the Russian army has gained a very signal success over the four corps of the French army, commanded by Buonaparte in person. The action may be said to have begun on the evening of the 7th of February: when General Beningsen having taken his position for the field of battle with the town of Preussisch Eylau two hundred yards in front of his centre, proposed to place a division in the town to maintain it to the last extremity. By a misconception of orders the troops destined for that service were withdrawn into the general alignment: when

* Endorsed by Sir R. Wilson,—“Baron Hardenberg—*In which I succeeded.*”——ED.

two French battalions instantly entered and posted themselves. General Beningsen being aware that his line might be considerably annoyed during the night from the houses, ordered two battalions to retake the town; and the troops so ordered instantly rushed with the bayonet through the streets putting to death many of the enemy. But as the suburbs were too extensive, the French still maintained a lodgment in two corners: their tirailleurs after dusk occasionally fired, by which General Barclay de Tolly, an officer of the most distinguished conduct as I have before mentioned, was so wounded that he was obliged to go away, and soon afterwards his troops left the place from a second error; but the French took no advantage of the circumstance. In the course of this afternoon the cavalry regiment of Moscow had charged, during the retreat of the rear-guard from the former position, a column of two battalions one thousand strong; and cutting it entirely to pieces took two stand of colours surmounted by the golden eagle. At day-break on the 8th the tirailleurs of both the armies commenced a feeble fire; and soon afterwards the Russians directed a heavy cannonade upon the town and the points occupied by the enemy. The French opened also from their guns; some of which were twenty-six pounders. About eleven o'clock the French column advanced towards the Russian left; when the regiment of S. Petersburg charged with as great success and effect, as the regiment of Moscow had done the night before. About twelve a heavy snow-storm drifted in the faces of the Russians and enveloped the line in darkness. When this had passed, five columns were perceived advancing against the right of the Russian left wing. General Beningsen instantly put himself at the head of his reserves; whilst the centre breaking into columns also advanced, and charged upon the enemy with their bayonets. The French columns, amongst which were the imperial guards, fled immediately; and found shelter from the elevation of their position, and under the powerful cannonade which reached to the Russian camp and did severe execution. A French regiment of cuirassiers had succeeded in penetrating through the line by an interval which a new formation had occasioned: but

they had no sooner passed than they were pursued by some squadrons of dragoons and hussars entirely round and in a wide circuit to the rear of the camp, and finally by a corps of Cossacks who killed a great number of them. The slaughter of the French was exceedingly great. In many places they lay in heaps upon each other; and ten more of their golden eagles became the trophies of their conquerors. Never were assailants more completely repulsed. Never was superiority more decisively proved than that of the Russian soldier over the French when the conflict was hand to hand. And indeed throughout their memorable march this superiority had been previously established by a series of gallant exploits: nor could any officers have conducted the rear-guard with more skill and ability than did Prince Bagrathion and General Barclay.

The cannonade still continued fiercely from several hundred pieces of cannon. But Buonaparte finding that his efforts to force the Russian camp had been so humiliatingly discomfited, made a movement by an extensive *détour*, and menaced the rear of the Russian left which was obliged to take a new position. The enemy also advanced some cannon to a wood which had been in the rear of the centre and left of the original position of the Russians, part of which position now extended to the front of the new line formed by drawing back the left; but General Osterman advanced, and repelled the enemy to a very considerable distance.

At this time another part of the French army appeared upon the heights which bounded the plain in the rear of the Russian right wing: but General Lestocq arriving with ten thousand men formed immediately, advanced, and secured that flank. Soon afterwards part of Bernadotte's division, which had attacked General Lestocq on his march, began a cannonade from a line of woods which extended parallel to the ground where the enemy had formed in their second movement; so that shot and shells fell from every quarter into the camp. But General Beningsen having ordered three battalions to force the village which Bernadotte's troops occupied, this service was performed with shouts of triumph at seven o'clock in the evening and the place carried: so that all uneasiness for the further intended operation of moving

nearer to Königsberg without impediment was removed. Although the Russians were victorious in every sense of the word, the march towards Königsberg was necessary from the want of ammunition for the guns, and of provisions. And when you consider, my dear Lord, that we had only a plain covered with deep snow for our field of battle, you will agree that General Beningsen did right to move where he might refresh his troops; who probably have made one of the most arduous campaigns that ever was attempted. But I do assure you that the enemy never in the course of the action gained a solitary instance of advantage.

Our loss has been very great—I should suppose six thousand men. The French have lost much more: for, as I have stated, columns were exterminated. The consequences of this battle which lasted until eight o'clock at night are very important to Russia, whose present means of defence had been doubted by the French. Perhaps great results may arise to the benefit of the world from the conquest of Buonaparte's fortune as well as his army: and at all events an insolent prosperity has been humiliated with most signal circumstances of disgrace.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

Most truly yours,

R. WILSON.

General Beningsen, during the whole action, was in the hottest part of the fire; and exposed himself more than he ought to have done, had not he been resolute to one object. One Russian general was wounded.

The army marched this morning two German miles and have taken a position for every object. In the course of this day we expect to hear that Buonaparte has retreated, as the prisoners all agree on his intention to do so. It will be a disastrous retreat. Twenty thousand Cossacks arrive in four days; and it is a positive fact that, among the many prisoners taken by General Beningsen on his march, three out of five are pierced with the lance.

A part of the army, it is said, is already sent to Ortelsburg. How much Essen may do if he moves vigorously!

I have just come in here, having been forty hours without any food but a few ounces of black bread, and being almost exhausted with excessive fatigue; but I shall return to-morrow to head-quarters.

No. 4.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HUTCHINSON.

Konigsberg, February 10th, 1807.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM afraid that in my hurried letter of yesterday I omitted to mention, that the corps of imperial guards who had formed behind Preussisch Eylau attempted to advance from the right of that town against our centre in column, previous to the general attack of the whole army: but the well-directed shot of several very heavy batteries so pierced their ranks, that they paused, and then fled back in the most precipitate disorder. More standards have been taken than I was aware of yesterday, as the number is now stated to be eighteen; and twelve hundred prisoners have been made. Twenty pieces of cannon were at one moment in our possession: but as the horses were taken away, and the troops who had charged up to them were too much exposed to fire, they were not removed: and only three pieces were finally captured.

The French army was composed of Davoust's, Soult's, Augereau's, and Ney's divisions. The guards, Murat's division of cavalry, and, moreover, Bernadotte's corps, were moving upon the right, but were not engaged.

According to the report of the French officer sent in yesterday with a flag of truce, many French generals have been wounded: and he anxiously inquired after a *maréchal-du-camp* who is missing.

The French, according to the report of General Platow, retreated this day fifteen wersts. This army will recommence operations in five days: when the Cossacks and the corps under Prince Sumalowsky will have come up, so as to combine operations.

Believe me ever yours,

ROBT. WILSON.

The Prussians are affording the most essential assistance as to stores, ammunition, &c.: and in the field General Lestocq's corps behaved with admirable steadiness, and manœuvred most correctly. He has taken two or three standards.

No. 5.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HUTCHINSON.

Königsberg, February 11th, 1807

MY DEAR LORD,

IN my letter of yesterday I probably omitted many interesting circumstances, but I really was too fatigued to pay that attention which is my duty and inclination. There is one circumstance, however, that requires an elucidation which I am happy to give. When the left was thrown back there was certainly some confusion, and the troops seemed unwilling to halt: but Bicherdorff, who gives you this letter and who is aide-de-camp to the emperor, will confirm my assurance that this retrograde march beyond the proposed alignment was in consequence of the standards being in the hands of young officers; who, conceiving the line to be forming for a charge, retired, as is the order in the Russian service (that the troops may rally upon them, after the dispersion of a charge), but did not halt, as they ought to have done, in one hundred paces. So the soldiers, on being accused of cowardice replied that they only followed their colours.

General Beningsen has been much blamed for leaving the field of battle. If he had consulted his own fame in preference to the real interests of the army he would not have retired: but in my opinion he acted wisely; not only because it was necessary to refresh his troops and obtain immediately the supplies he wanted by an approach to the stores, but because as Prince Sumalowsky (I do not warrant the accuracy of the spelling) was within five days' march with twenty battalions and twenty-three squadrons, and as twenty-two regiments of Cossacks were also within that distance, any movement that might induce the French to

advance nearer to Königsberg was an advisable measure. Here the Russian army is so posted that a hundred thousand men could not for many days attain any success against fifty thousand: and unless the army could be freed and the place carried by a coup de main how could the besiegers of this intrenched camp obtain provisions in an exhausted country? when, moreover, a powerful corps is acting with enterprise in their rear: so that advantage might accrue and no danger could possibly arise by falling back. Had General Beningsen remained, twenty thousand men getting in his rear might have impeded his supplies for several days: and as there were no provisions on the ground where the battle was fought, most serious consequences might have resulted.

General Beningsen is not popular in this army. His enemies do not form their opinion from a due appreciation of his qualities: but they are hurried into prejudice by the false feeling that their national glory is obscured by the success of a foreigner at the head of their armies. General Beningsen is a most gallant and good man in every sense of the word, and he merits regard instead of ill-will. He is not, however, a great officer. But then he is perplexed by the impediments thrown in his way by malice, ignorance, and idleness; and he is frequently obliged, or thinks that he is obliged, to be superintending trifles, that he should not even be acquainted with if in the departments there was any method or capacity.

The avidity to asperse and the habit of detraction is a fatal source of calamity: and I ardently hope that the emperor will himself come to defend the empire from the misfortunes of that discord which such a presence can alone awe.

The Prussians are very anxious to remove their friends, and so all assistance is given to re-equip the army. Three or four days more will do much, but three weeks at least are necessary to reorganize thoroughly.

The march of General Lestocq to Allenburg was contrary to order, as he was to have formed the Russian rear-guard. Had the enemy been enabled to attack the Russians his removal to such a distance might have been very disastrous.

How he defends himself I have not yet heard and therefore will not condemn him with precipitation. I only mention what consequences might have ensued. He is now ordered to Wehlau: and if he forms finally a junction with Prince Sumalowsky and the Cossacks, there will be a considerable army acting upon the right flank and rear of the French in their retreat; for I have no idea of their advancing, although their patrols pushed on to Muhlhausen after the action. What convinces me still more is the circumstance of their sending in a flag of truce yesterday to ask the Russians if they would not send medical assistance to such wounded as had been left on the march from Jonkowo to Preussisch Eylau. To ask the Russians such a question was neither humanity nor common sense, unless Buonaparte wished to sound the tone of the Russians as to their feelings relative to the battle and the measures they would adopt, for of all improbabilities that of the Russians having any superfluous surgeons is the most notorious. General Beningsen's answer was very proper. He said that he had many French wounded of whom he took care, and therefore that he expected the same treatment for his wounded.

Your brother and myself, I believe, differ only in one point relative to the battle. He conceives that the movements of the French army certified the extraordinary genius of Buonaparte: but I maintain that the project of *surrounding* eighty thousand men could only have been framed by a mind intoxicated with the success with which cowardice had gorged him. It was, as the event proved, an idle dispersion and harassment of his troops: for although in the position which he desired and with ten thousand men between the Russians and Königsberg or on the flank of the road, he suffered the army to go away without the impediment of a musket-shot. Had he confined his attack to the right and left of our camp he would have acted with more judgment, and perhaps with more success. As it was, he first tried the power of his artillery and then the courage of his columns: in both of which the Russians had a decisive ascendancy. If the plan of surrounding the camp was a previous disposition, which sometimes I have thought, then he acted madly in making his

attack upon the centre before the Russians were distracted by the variety of the points to be defended.

The loss of the Russians has been more considerable than I stated. Eight hundred officers, amongst which are seven generals, and near twelve thousand men, have been killed and wounded. The French loss must have been greater, for they had whole columns destroyed to a man by the sabre and the bayonet: and Maret of the French guards, son of the minister, who is here a prisoner and much wounded, avows that the whole corps of the guards, including Mamelukes, horse, and foot, had suffered more before he fell than in any six actions they had ever been in. I saw the shot of several heavy batteries plunge into them, until the whole rushed back for shelter in the wildest confusion. The plan of our operations must in some measure depend upon the enemy; but if they do not receive reinforcements to attack us we shall in a few days move to them. If they retreat, my ideas correspond with Count Tolstoy's; although we did not form them by mutual reasonings.

As the emperor has promised that eighty thousand men shall in ten days pass the frontiers, we propose that Essen's army should be completed to that force and that he should move to Warsaw: that Prince Sumalowsky with some of the Cossacks should pursue the French with the utmost activity but caution: and that this army completed to eighty thousand men exclusive of the Prussians, should with the Prussians pass the Vistula, and keep up connexion for supplies with Dantzic: that when the French retire from Warsaw, which they *must do*, forty thousand men should be sent from Essen's army to Silesia: and that the superfluous force which could be collected should form an army of reserve in Poland: for the nucleus of which there would be immediately about twenty-five thousand men; and vast numbers of our wounded &c., would daily increase that force. Let me have your opinion, my dear Lord, and you may treat mine as you think proper.

Notwithstanding the menace, I continue to write voluminously, which is, I assure you, a strong proof of my zeal to do right; for I am not much disposed to labour at this time.

Pray let us have a couple of horses at least. Those we have are good, but if you wish to dispose of any of yours, we can get high prices and thanks for them. If they are sent off immediately they will reach us probably before we move.

General Beningsen and ourselves go to-morrow into a peasant's house, a German mile from hence; as he does not think that he ought to be indulging when his army is lying upon the snow, and we have the same feeling: indeed he is so kind that I would with pleasure share with him every inconvenience.

I have the satisfaction of saying also that we are experiencing the most cordial attentions from every rank; and that the most desirable unanimity is established.

The officer who carries this is an excellent fellow, very confidential: Woronzow did me the kindness to write to him, without my ever having been near him since I came from the Cape.

Adieu, my dear Lord,

And believe me ever yours,

R. WILSON.

No. 6.

MEMORIAL IN FAVOUR OF A PRUSSIAN SUBSIDY, BY SIR ROBERT WILSON.

February, 1807.

WHEN Prussia requires a subsidy from England she appeals to the generosity of a nation too magnanimous for the prosecution of resentments against the unfortunate: and she moreover presumes that a community of interests may be demonstrated to render a claim for pecuniary succours valid, notwithstanding that her territory is occupied by the enemy and her military power is pressed to the verge of extinction. Although her whole military array does not at the present moment exceed fifty thousand men, although her few remaining fortresses are not in an adequate state of defence, and although she is destitute of arms, ammunition, and all war-like appointments, nevertheless she feels that, as much as her submission to France is desired by that power, so much is her alliance of importance to Russia and England.

The French chief is weary of a war in which his difficulties are daily accumulating, not only from the increasing strength of the Russian armies but the consequences of a remote warfare and the most unfavourable seasons—a war which the active hostility of powers which he has humiliated and wronged may render more celebrated for his catastrophe than his achievements—a war which, by forcing Russia to create vast armies and to explore and call into action every military resource of her empire, is calculated to invigorate her power and accelerate that maturity which as his penetration has long foreseen menaces most formidably the influence and the dominion of France.

From such a war, that involves the most awful consequences, that exposes his life and the fortunes of his house to a great crisis of peril without any equal indemnification, he would gladly withdraw with honour, and terminate his victorious march on the banks of the Vistula; if the King of Prussia would salute the conqueror as a friend and engage to do homage for the restoration of his capital by an opposition to the further advance of the Russians.

In a descendant of the great Frederick Napoleon is aware that he would command a more powerful auxiliary than in a chief of any new dynasty. And he well knows that he never can revive Poland with sufficient strength to resist the invasion of those powers who mocked her resistance when she was in possession of her whole territory, and when foreign dominion had neither subdued nor soothed the spirit of national independence. An immediate peace with the King of Prussia would relieve the embarrassment of an undertaking, which is fraught with the instant evil of adding Austria to the number of his active enemies: and by consolidating his triumphs in the north of Germany it would enable him to prosecute those views against England and her allies which his ambition has framed and his enmity unremittingly urges. The vanity of the conqueror may exult in the defeat of the Prussian armies: but as a statesman he already laments the destruction of a barrier power, the rival of Austria and the jealous guardian of those frontiers which the whole military force of France is now employed to defend.

To a sovereign almost expatriated Napoleon offers the restoration of a realm ; and to maintain the integrity of his kingdom the assistance of those very armies which have driven him from his throne. It is true that the King of Prussia if thus reinstated would be only the vassal of France ; but how considerable is the sacrifice imposed on him as a prince, a husband, and a father, if, unaided by England, he prefers the dictates of honour to the suggestions of an interested policy and the feelings of affection. The solemn alternative between a peace that directly restores the king to his rights and the appendages of a considerable monarchy, is emigration, the necessary disbandment of his remaining forces, a comparative poverty, and the possible loss of his throne. If the King of Prussia, awed by such a calamitous representation, should yield to the pressure of his fortunes, and consent to exist by and under the will of Napoleon, would not England sensibly feel the effects of that submission which left France in peaceable possession of her conquests, with an influence that commanded from the Vistula to the Bosphorus ? and would not Russia be paralyzed in the vigour of her movements, unless she is resolved to force the impediments that Prussia must oppose to her march into the arena of action where the destinies of France and Russia may be determined ? The fate of the world is poised upon the shock : but preservation from the dominion of France can only be acquired by this collision. A protracted contest therefore teems with danger to the power and personal safety of Napoleon and may repair the disasters of a precipitated contest : whereas peace confirms his power and his fame, and extinguishes the ray of dawning hope that is beaming upon nations who disdain his bondage. From these considerations England and Russia are most seriously interested in the measures of the Prussian cabinet : and England cannot with sound policy refuse the principle of a subsidy, which will not only deprive France of the influence of the King of Prussia's alliance, but in a few weeks create a powerful army, daily augmenting with a soldiery who only seek occasion to return to their standards.

No 7

GEORGE FORESTI, Esq., TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

Corfu, February 27, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I HAVE just now received the news of your being with General Lord Hutchinson in his mission to the Russian army, and I avail myself of the first conveyance offered me by Colonel Aguloff's departure from hence to join that army to take the liberty, which I hope you will forgive me, of writing these few lines to you to apologize for my long silence. If I have omitted to acknowledge the letter you did me the honour to write to me on your passage from Egypt to Malta, it has arisen solely from my not having received it till my return to Corfu after a tour of twelve months in Greece and Turkey. But I very often intended myself that satisfaction, which makes me anxious to make use of the first occasion to offer you my best services in these parts, and to recall a remembrance the most agreeable and consoling to my feelings.

You cannot imagine how much I was affected to find that you were not in Sicily, for there is nothing in the world that I so much long for as the satisfaction of seeing you again.

We are in anxious expectation here of receiving further accounts of the victorious progress of the Russian army in Poland, on which the safety of Europe now so essentially depends. The only operations that have lately taken place in this quarter have been the sailing of Admiral Duckworth with five sail of the line from Malta, to join Admiral Louis's squadron of four sail of the line at the Dardanelles. Admiral Senniavin sailed also from this harbour, on the 22nd instant, with a detachment of eight Russian ships of the line to join Admiral Duckworth. Our last letters from Messina inform us of an expedition of ten thousand men preparing there, supposed for the eastward. I particularly recommend to your notice Prince Michael Dolgoroucky who is with General Beningsen—he is a particular friend of mine, and, believe me, a rare character in Russia

Excuse haste. I cannot express how sorry I am not to be able to go in the place of this letter. I hope, however, that

it will not be long before I have the honour of hearing from you. In the mean time let me beseech you to be assured of my readiness to be useful to you in these parts, and of the very sincere gratitude, consideration, and regard with which I remain,

My dear Sir Robert,

Your most devoted servant,

GEORGE FORESTI.

Sir Robert Wilson,

&c. &c.

Pray recommend your letters to me to the care of M. Griot, Trieste.

No. 8.

SIR R. WILSON TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING (probably).

BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND, 14TH JUNE, 1807.

Memel, 22nd June, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR,

As the late interesting events on the Continent must occupy your serious attention I transmit the details of the operations to which I was an eye-witness; and I endeavour to give them with accuracy without suffering the narrative to be influenced by favour or affection.

After various projects and much irresolution General Beningsen commenced the campaign on the morning of the 5th by an attack on Gütstadt, with an intention of destroying the corps of Marshal Ney: an operation certainly practicable from the presumption of his advanced position; but by error of combination and other faults, the marshal with eighteen thousand men manœuvred for two days against seventy-five thousand men, and finally effected his retreat upon Deppen with the loss of about four thousand men and his baggage. The Prussians had attempted on the right to pass the Passarge but were repulsed; and a division of the Russians encountering a part of Marshal Soult's corps lost many men: so that on the whole the Russians did not gain any consider-

able advantage. By the retreat of Marshal Ney Marshal Davoust was much exposed at Allenstein: but he was permitted to withdraw without interruption; and his union with Marshal Ney was effected at Deppen on the 8th, where early in the morning the enemy had commenced a cannonade and where Buonaparte was seen to arrive, and even the greeting of his troops was heard very distinctly. The attack was evidently a false one but the enemy wished to deceive the Russians with the idea of their falling back on Osterode; for not only troops marched in that direction in front of the Russians but the baggage was also sent on the Osterode road. It was, however, perceived to return after making a circuit through a wood, and to move on the way to Liebstadt. In the evening, the Cossacks having successfully attacked a corps of cavalry which had passed the Passarge, General Beningsen discovered from the prisoners an intention of the enemy to march direct from Elditten upon Heilsberg. He therefore directly withdrew his army behind Guttstadt: and the next morning the French army advancing from the wood which covered the bridge of Elditten commenced an attack on the Russian rear-guard, which had been left to observe their movements. Prince Bagrathion and General Platow effected a very masterly retreat; having long resisted the progress of the enemy by repeated attacks, which obliged the deployment of the whole of their cavalry, the formation of several hollow squares of infantry, and the use of a considerable artillery: and the Russians retired through Gütstadt with very little loss and succeeded in burning the bridges. The next day the French advanced on the left bank of the Alle to Lannau and there forced the Russian posts advanced on the road to Heilsberg; but Prince Bagrathion arriving from the right bank with ten thousand men commenced a very severe action. The French, however, were determined to annihilate this force, if possible; and therefore, instead of acting against it with an advanced guard, attacked with several corps of the army and pressed the prince so much that he was obliged to send for succours; when the cavalry was ordered to cover his retreat upon the position where batteries had several weeks previously been

constructed, and where now General Beningsen wished to draw the enemy. The cavalry acted with various success, and the Prussian twenty-five squadrons which had arrived in the morning from the corps of Lestocq, with the remainder of Kamenskoi's corps which had returned from the Fahrwasser at the mouth of the Vistula, conducted themselves with great gallantry. All their exertions however could not prevent the heavy loss to the infantry; but when the guns on the position began to fire at the advancing enemy they were obliged at first to recede. It was about six o'clock when the French columns again moved forward with the intention of storming the advanced battery, and for a moment they carried it: but the right wing of the Russians charging instantly with the bayonet the French were driven back with great slaughter; and the Russians advanced their line considerably, even throwing their right upon a small wood situated at the distance of cannon-shot from their position. The action then continued with an extraordinarily heavy cannonade and an incessant fire of musketry. A little before ten o'clock information was obtained that the division of Oudinot's grenadiers were again about to storm the advanced battery, presuming to succeed under favour of the prevailing darkness. Arrangements were made accordingly, and the column was received with such discharges of musketry and grape that the survivors were obliged to fly in the wildest disorder behind the wood, where the Russian right had been thrown though it was withdrawn into the position during the night. The battle did not cease until eleven at night: and there was even a partial firing until day-dawn; when the cannonade recommenced, as the French army was seen forming with the intention, as was presumed, of renewing the engagement. The intermediate space between the two armies was actually covered with the bodies of the French, particularly of their grenadiers; and the most experienced officers admitted that on an equal space of ground they had never seen such a carnage. As the bodies had been stripped during the night by mingled friends and foes the spectacle was the more remarkable. About midday the French army was distinctly seen to defile on the road to Königsberg; but a corps was left in front

of the Russians and another on their right. General Beningsen ordered General Kamenskoi to march upon Königsberg with his corps; and he moved about six o'clock the same evening to anticipate the enemy: at the same time orders were sent to Lestocq for his retreat on Königsberg. Fortunately that general had intercepted an order to General Victor commanding Bernadotte's division (which marshal had been wounded), directing him to attack Lestocq instantly and march to Königsberg; so that General Lestocq had previous notice and commenced to retire accordingly. General Beningsen, instead of falling upon the corps of Ney and Davoust, still stationed almost within cannon-shot, during the night abandoned Heilsberg and his wounded. Fortunately the enemy made no attack, for it was seven o'clock in the morning before the bridges could be burnt. The Russian army reached Bartenstein on the 11th, on the 12th Schippenbeil, and on the 13th the ground in front of Friedland: always moving on the right bank of the Alle; except between Bartenstein and Schippenbeil where a corps of cavalry marched on the left bank. Some French dragoons had patrolled into Friedland on the morning of the 13th and passed the Alle. These were attacked, and some prisoners taken who informed General Beningsen that the remainder of the division of Oudinot was on march for Friedland. The general wishing to occupy the town for the night, ordered several regiments across the river, and made them take post on the other side of the town. The general, imagining that Oudinot's corps only was opposed to him, retarded his march on Wehlau, where he was going, and ordered one of his divisions to cross and support the cavalry. The enemy showing more force, the general was induced to order another division over; and a serious action commenced without an object, in a position untenable, and where his troops could not gain a victory but might and probably would be ruined. But the great catastrophe was spared by the faults of the enemy; who did not attack on both sides of the river, when if he had done so any retreat would have been impracticable. The position into which the general threw his troops was apparently an equal plain, but it was divided by a deep

ravine, full of water and nearly impassable, which ran in the direction of Domnau to Friedland ; where on the west side of the town a lake was formed, cutting off the right of the left of the Russians from the left of their centre. About a mile and a half from Friedland, a thick wood, the skirts of which rose on elevated ground, bordered the plain from the Alle nearly in a semicircle, except towards the left extremity where there was an open space. In front of this wood, a mile from the town and nearly opposite the centre, was the small village of Heinrichsdorf; from a little to the left of this village down to the Alle south of Friedland was the theatre of action.

About seven o'clock the French made a movement with thirty-four squadrons of cavalry and some infantry to gain the village on the plain : and as the division of Russians destined to occupy it was only on its march from the Alle, they succeeded in possessing themselves of it and of three guns which had been hastily advanced. Twelve Russian squadrons had been ordered to resist the movement. The French cavalry charged them and they fled : but as they approached the infantry, the French pursuing them lost many men ; particularly cuirassiers. At the same time the French infantry advanced from the village to turn the right of the Russians before their reinforcements took post : but twenty pieces of cannon tore their column of 2,500 men to pieces, and it fled leaving about 1,000 killed and wounded. The efforts of the enemy now relaxed ; and about eleven o'clock the Russians having nearly passed all their army, about 45,000 men, and detached 6,000 of their best troops to secure Allenburg and Wehlau, the enemy commenced to retreat ; when General Beningsen ordered the left to advance and gain the wood. The chasseurs of the guards directed to perform this service executed it with great gallantry, and killed and took in the wood a number of the enemy. They also captured an eagle : but some columns of French still remaining there, they were obliged to retire from precaution behind a village on the banks of the Alle and a few hundred paces in front of the wood. About midday a considerable French reinforcement was discovered and instantly the contest was renewed with

great fury; for the enemy advancing and firing from many guns were received by all the Russian artillery, always eager to fire. The Russian cavalry, one hundred squadrons, had endeavoured to gain the left of the enemy. Having succeeded, a part charged the French cuirassiers; who ran away, but being met by some officer they rallied and returned to their pursuers who checked their career. Although both parties mutually declined the shock they advanced until they met sword to sword, when the Russians were overpowered after a few minutes' contest: but as they were withdrawing a Russian regiment charged on the flank of the French and broke them. At this instant, a French regiment charged in the same manner the successful Russians, and a *mêlée* ensued which terminated in the total rout of the French cavalry; and the ground was strewed with their men and horses. Above three waggon-loads of cuirasses were also collected from the killed and wounded lying in this part of the field. The enemy, discomfited here, now swarmed the front of their position with *tirailleurs*; and played from a numerous artillery upon the Russian army, which was exposed to every musket-ball and which stood erect as if disdaining the fire, whilst the French supporting lines lay down covered by high grass, and whilst their main columns were sheltered in the woods from any kind of danger. Never was there a more gallant bearing than that of the Russians in the tremendous storm of bullets: they endured it until six o'clock in the evening with a fortitude and patience that equals whatever has been exacted in the history of the world from human courage under the direction of discipline. And their heroism was the more extraordinary as they had been for twelve days making the most painful marches with scarcely any repose or food, and for many hours before the battle they had not eaten a morsel of any kind of sustenance: and yet not a murmur was heard nor did any man shrink from his station.

About three o'clock Buonaparte arrived with his whole army from Preussisch Eylau, and reposed his troops until six, when the cavalry mounted and his infantry began to advance. About half an hour previously General Beningsen had known

of the proposed attack but he had not a regiment in reserve : he directed indeed his line to be rendered more compact but the loss of 12,000 men had made great intervals. A few minutes before the attack commenced he had ordered his cavalry to form behind his centre, as the enemy had withdrawn all their forces towards his left : but there was not time for the execution of this order nor for himself to mount on horseback, before the enemy's battery of forty pieces of cannon thundered on the guards stationed on the left, and several columns of immense depth rushed forward, the principal directing itself along the ravine. The regiment of chasseurs guards and the battalion of militia, considerably advanced, gave way at the approach of the enemy. The guards, impatient under the cannon-shots that plunged through their ranks, moved forward, but not with regularity or compact order, and were driven back upon the town : here they maintained themselves for some time, and until the streaming fugitives of the chasseurs and militia had passed the bridges ; when they also retired, and an order was given for the destruction of the pontoons and the conflagration of the town bridge, which was executed effectually. Moreover the town was set on fire in a quarter where the Russians severely wounded were deposited ; so that the whole must have perished in the flames, which raged for several hours. The centre had repulsed the attack made on it, but when the enemy gained its flank retreat became necessary : this, however, was so difficult that there was little prospect of effecting it. At this moment the garde-à-cheval and two other regiments charged the columns, pressing them, and routed one so completely that the Russian infantry gained the town and were preparing to pass the bridge, when the flames showed them its fate and their probable destruction. At this critical conjuncture, however, a ford was accidentally discovered ; but the river was breast deep with very steep banks : yet not only the infantry passed in safety but the artillery ventured the passage and ascended the opposite bank. The remaining ammunition was thus destroyed ; though in no considerable quantity as the firing had been so great during the day that little remained. This indeed may be justly stated as one of the

causes which occasioned the defeat; for many guns had been withdrawn and the Russian line was no longer covered by an adequate artillery, when the enemy's batteries previously to the attack commenced the fire. The right wing, consisting chiefly of cavalry, also retired by the same ford and saved their artillery. General Beningsen rallied the troops of the left wing at a wood distant about a mile on the Wehlau road; and this prevented the pursuit of the enemy and gave time for his guns and baggage to gain Allenburg, from whence the army marched to Wehlau. There the Pregel river was passed on a single bridge and in presence of the enemy, who detached 4,000 men as a corps of observation rather than of offence, as they moved on the left bank of the Alle but kept post within cannon-shot of the bridge; and it is said generally that Buonaparte was with this detachment. The whole of the army passed without any interruption or loss. On the 17th the bridge was burnt and the troops moved to Polpitten; where the corps of Lestocq and Kamenskoi joined the main army after having effected their junction at Peterswalde, entered into Königsberg, evacuated that town with an immense equipage, and crossed the Deine at Labiau with comparatively small loss; the principal of which was by straggling. On the 18th the army collected, marched to Tilsit and there again crossed the river on a single bridge where the protection of a rear-guard was very difficult. The whole of the baggage, above 600 guns, &c., having gained the right bank of the Memel, the bridge was burnt; and the enemy almost instantly entered the town, where there was some partial firing of musketry from the sentries but it ceased by agreement.

Thus finished a campaign which is one of the most memorable and sanguinary in modern history, and as remarkable for its short duration as its conduct. The result of the battle of Friedland has been of great political import; but I must doubt whether a battle under such circumstances, if ever a similar one was fought, was ever gained with so few military advantages to the conqueror. He did not capture one standard, nor twenty pieces of cannon including those dismounted; although about four hundred pieces were with the

army: and in the subsequent retreat of 120 miles over two single bridges he did not take a man or a gun by any attack. A few stragglers perhaps might have been picked up by his patrols but he also lost an eagle of the 15th regiment: and it may be fairly stated, that notwithstanding his great superiority of force, had not his opponent abandoned the common precautions for resistance his last attack would have been defeated: had the 6,000 men detached in the morning but been present, a splendid success would have been certain; only acquired by the courage of the soldiers and not the foresight of the general. It cannot escape your observation that General Beningsen suffered the French army to be reinforced by the besieging troops of Dantzic before he made his movement so long meditated; that he retired when the enemy offered him battle between the Passarge and the Alle; that after his success at Heilsberg he again refused battle, suffered the enemy to defile before him on his right, and abandoned his position, when with a very superior force he might have thrown himself upon Ney's and Davoust's corps who remained within cannon-shot of his batteries on very disadvantageous ground; that by forced marches he had reached Friedland to avoid the enemy, but had suffered himself to be diverted from his object when weakened by the detachment of above 12,000 men and many marauders, to recross the Alle, and, under the illusion of surprising an isolated corps, to be drawn into a general action against Napoleon's whole army.

That Buonaparte, after the capture of Friedland, permitted the Russian centre and right to withdraw across the river with all their numerous artillery was a great oversight: and it is yet quite inexplicable how he came to allow Lestocq and Kamenskoi to unite and gain Königsberg, and the Russian army to retire uninterruptedly over the Memel, on which there was only a single bridge undefended by any *tête du pont*.

The Russian loss in the battle amounted to 16,000 men killed and wounded, added to the previous loss of 5,000 at Heilsberg and 3,000 at the passage of the Alle.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly the present state of the

whole Russian force; but I believe that, independent of Lestocq's corps, the Cossacks, Baschirs, and irregular troops, about 60,000 effective remain.

The French opened the campaign with 160,000 men, including every description of force between the Oder and the Alle. Their loss has been considerable on various points; particularly at Heilsberg where the French officers admit that 12,000 of their best troops were killed and wounded, and calculate that since the 4th of June 30,000 men are deficient in their army. I do not presume to offer my opinion as to the future: but of this I am certain, that if the emperor can have fortitude enough to resist the pacific faction that assails him, he will willingly submit to every sacrifice that may be necessary for the maintenance of his honour and the dignity of the empire, and to whatever privations such a system of action might demand. Nor is he ignorant of the state of the enemy; who regard with horror a winter campaign in inhospitable regions, defended by brave men over whom they can achieve no bloodless victories.

The news of the proposed sailing of the British expedition has diffused great satisfaction; and not even a partial victory would lead more to encourage the Russian affairs. In negotiation or battle this diversion will have a powerful influence.

No. 9.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE CHEVALIER LISAKOWICZ.

DEAR SIR,

London, September 26th, 1807.

I REGRET very much that your removal into Holstein prevents me from having the pleasure of seeing you and making those personal communications to which Mr. Alopeus alludes in his letter now conveyed to you.

I felt confident that in your own breast the greatest disposition would prevail to promote an accommodation with the Danish government: not only for the welfare of Denmark in which country you have so many friends, but for the more

enlarged considerations of a policy essential to the interests of Russia, and therefore most agreeable to England. In an interview which I had the honour to have with certain personages at S. Petersburg the day previous to my departure, I was enabled to ascertain the opinions and dispositions which authorize me to urge most strenuously your acquiescence and zealous endeavours to accomplish the desired object.

The measure proposed, whilst proving the disinterested views of my own country as affecting her private advantage, clearly demonstrates her anxiety to protect Russia from the incalculable mischief which must result to her if the important post of Zealand should be occupied by France. I need not enlarge on the extent of such an evil. Every Russian must see the danger and have reason to deplore the omission of any measures which might tend to avert it.

With a view to pacific or defensive arrangements this station is now become indispensable. The security and preponderance of the North are involved in its preservation. I will undertake to affirm that this is the decided sentiment of those with whose interests you are charged. Devoted as I am by gratitude and esteem to your sovereign and country, no recommendation of policy should ever come from me of the utility of which I had not the fullest conviction.

The admiration of the splendid achievements and high worth of the Russian nation, which on so many occasions I have witnessed, founded and renders unalterable this loyal feeling. I am repairing to S. Petersburg to confer on important objects ; but you will find the person intrusted with further communications and powers worthy of your confidence and friendship. I am not in possession of the details of the propositions which this person is charged with : but I know that the basis and entire character of them is to preserve Zealand from falling into the power of France.

No. 10.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

S. Petersburg, October 18th, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR,

I ARRIVED here yesterday. The bad state of the roads in Swedish and Russian Finland were insuperable impediments to greater expedition.

I had some conversation with Lord Gower last night ; but as he had not read the despatches no measure was determined upon.

I was with Prince Czartorysky and Novosilzow in the course of the evening, and they were very much pleased at the conduct of the British government on the present occasion. They recommended me to see Count Romanzow immediately and offer to go to the emperor ; but as his Majesty was expected in S. Petersburg on Tuesday, they thought that Count Romanzow would wish me to await his return.

I cannot but flatter myself, notwithstanding an unpleasant aspect of affairs from official differences, that an intermediate explanation may restore that amicable disposition which certainly existed at my departure : but now the necessity of somewhat more than mere declaration has greatly increased, and the extension of the commercial treaty is a measure of double importance on this account.

I hope to see Count Romanzow this day. I had the good fortune to obtain and improve his personal good opinion during my last residence here ; and on the present occasion this acquaintance much facilitates my views.

To the honour of my country I believe that I am as much alive as any British subject can be ; but I do assuredly deprecate any impatient jealousy : and I would rather win the affection of Russia, than force her forbearance by measures which in the first instance may only be directed against the government, but which may ultimately be resented by the whole nation.

When Lord Gower has read your despatches I make no doubt that he will perfectly understand the feelings of the

British government : and dispose to amity, whilst preserving the dignity of Great Britain.

On the subject of Zealand there is but one opinion. Its present evacuation will be most mischievous, and will allow the Russian government no plausible pretext for interference, if ever it be induced to adopt the proposed arrangements. The refusal of the crown prince to ratify the treaty is here asserted, and is deemed ample justification for our retaining possession.

The greatest exertion should really be made to hold this post for the present.

I take advantage of a private conveyance to remit this letter.

R. W.

No. 11.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

S. Petersburg, October 18th, 1807.

SIRE,

WHEN I left your Majesty I had great uneasiness on public as well as on private accounts : but I felt assured that I was warranted in declaring to your Majesty that on the part of the British government there was the most anxious disposition to consult the dignity and feelings of your Majesty on the subject of Denmark ; as well as to act in concert with your Majesty's ministers for the welfare of Russia.

On my arrival in England, the 20th September, I found in my communications with the British ministers that the intelligence I brought of the amicable disposition of your Majesty, notwithstanding that the proceedings at Copenhagen were witnessed with regret, afforded them the sincerest joy and satisfaction ; inasmuch as the apprehension of a temporary deviation from the true interests of both countries was thus removed.

The King of Great Britain, animated with the same sentiments, directed that a person should be sent specially to your Majesty, to explain the past and with candour to represent

future objects; at the same time to carry similar instructions to his ambassador at St. Petersburg.

HIS Majesty's government proposed my return, on the flattering supposition that your Majesty would not be dissatisfied with such an appointment; and, notwithstanding that private reasons urged me to remain in England, I embraced an offer which enabled me to appear before your Majesty charged with the honest sentiments of the government: which sentiments so thoroughly corresponded with my own that I could act loyally to my own sovereign and to your Majesty.

I left England on the 3rd of October; I arrived in S. Petersburg on the 17th: and I await the return of your Majesty to solicit the honour of an occasion to execute my instructions, and renew in person my homage.

Your Majesty's most grateful and attached servant,

R. WILSON.

No. 12.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO MR. CANNING.

S. Petersburg, October 29th, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR,

It was only this morning that I was enabled to see Count Romanzow. An interview with him became necessary, from the difficulties which opposed an immediate presentation to the emperor.

The circumstance of Mr. Alopeus having written that the emperor had expressed strongly to me his wish for the English to remain in Zealand, was an unfortunate incident: since Count R. repeated to another person his surprise at such a declaration; and this person instantly communicated the intelligence to General Savary, who laboured with assiduity to make such an unfavourable impression on the emperor's mind as would prevent any further confidential communications with me. In my conference this day with Count R. I began by noticing the motives which had induced me to seek a direct audience with the emperor: and I fully satisfied him

on this point; which was important, as efforts had also been made to impress the count with a belief that I had so acted from a disinclination to repose confidence in him. I then adverted to the proceeding of General Savary and the advice sent by Mr. Alopeus. Count R. admitted that the emperor had felt some uneasiness on this matter, being conscious that he never had expressed himself in such terms; but assured me that the explanation I gave would be amply sufficient, and that he would regard the representation of Mr. Alopeus as the misunderstanding of an inference for a fact. I then proceeded to the immediate object of my mission here, and endeavoured to obtain by candour the confidence of the count. I mentioned that, previously to my arrival in England, no assurance had been given of the amicable disposition of Russia; on the contrary the British government had reason to apprehend, from various information, that Russia would not or could not preserve her neutrality: that the expedition to Zealand had been undertaken in the first instance from the motive of self-security and the protection of Sweden; and that, believing Russia to be hostilely disposed, we did not communicate that proceeding before its execution; but that the policy of the British government to unite with Russia had never ceased, nor had the desire of preventing any mischief to her ever been extinguished, although necessarily inactive; that, therefore, the British government seized with avidity any opportunity that offered to resume their policy with regard to Russia, and adopt measures which might augment her dignity and her character and provide for her safety without compromising her with France; since had the British government the control of the affairs of Russia that government would anxiously endeavour to avoid a new war, until the organization of her warlike means was complete and until Austria had pledged co-operation: that, however, the British government considered an interference for the occupation or neutrality of Denmark, as a favourable occasion for Russia to advance to that state of independence which would contribute the surest means to avert hostility, and restore to Russia that influence which a system of forbearance and passive indifference to every event was not calculated

to obtain : at the same time that the British government considered that the actual safety of Russia was menaced by the occupation of Zealand with French troops ; and that Russia was consequently more interested than England in the proposed arrangements, which I generally named to him. I then stated that England was desirous of the military power of Russia being augmented to the highest degree of which it was capable ; whereas France was as anxious to reduce its present strength ; and that at all events she never would agree to the aggrandizement of Russia without far greater advantages to herself : that it was understood that Moldavia and Wallachia were provinces added to Russia, in the event of France obtaining possession of important stations in Greece ; which acquisitions would for ever destroy the influence of Russia in that interesting quarter.

I proceeded to say that England never would propose the partition of Turkey ; but, nevertheless, if any arrangement could be made between Austria and Russia on the basis of occupying and exchanging these provinces, which arrangement would secure the sincere alliance of both countries, England never would make that a cause of quarrel which proved the bond of a union she desired so much to establish.

That the same principle of a liberal and friendly policy would induce England likewise to protect the interests of Russia on the side of Greece, of which her present engagements obliged the abandonment ; and that, if Russia would only with candour state *her actual situation and the full extent of her connections with France*, the British government would zealously apply all its power to extricate Russia from the embarrassment which the treaty of Tilsit occasioned. That England sought no recompence, no preference : her reward was the restoration of confidence between two nations which should ever be united ; and her further object the hope of thus finally relieving Europe from the oppression of France. That it was, however, necessary for Russia to act with impartiality ; and prove to France that she is an independent power able and resolved to maintain that character.

I then adverted to the circumstance of the treaty of com-

merce which had been the cause of some uneasiness between the two countries. I told the count that the British government recognized as just the principle of equality in the treatment of all foreign nations relative to their commercial transactions; and that the government made no pretensions to any preference for her merchants: but I conceived that the count himself would admit that the British merchants were entitled to the same consideration and advantages as others of foreign nations, and that the independent character of Russia was even seriously interested in the adoption of such a system. The count instantly admitted that the expectation was reasonable, because the principle was just and exactly consonant with his sentiments. It was evident that on this point he was highly satisfied; but I did not think it prudent to urge the discussion any further. He however declared that he should always advise and execute, as far as he was able, any measures founded on such pretensions: which measures would unequivocally prove the equity of Russia.

On adverting in the course of the conference to the intentions of England with regard to a general peace, I told the count that England never could think of making peace with France whilst there was no prospect of diminishing her continental preponderance. That if ever England consents to make cessions of some of her conquests, she must have equivalents that will augment the barriers still remaining against the universal dominion of France. That, indeed, a general peace was not likely to be obtained until the powers of the Continent, and particularly Russia, had assumed the attitude of independent nations; who would form no other than voluntary connections, and who would not suffer aggression with impunity. The count observed, "You have Hanover to reclaim." I answered, "Certainly; but your excellency must be well aware that Hanover does not comprise the views of England with regard to the Continent: her policy is more enlarged, more generous, and more enlightened."

After some few more remarks, and the assurance of the count that he would charge himself with my presentation to the emperor, and that I might confide in his Majesty's unalterable friendship to myself, I took leave of him; and

he went directly to the palace to communicate what had passed.

I therefore await with impatience the promised interview with the emperor. I cannot promise success : but certainly the conference which I had this day seemed to interest the count much ; and I would flatter myself that every hope of a private understanding being formed is not unwarrantable. From the information which I obtained in a quarter of great authority, the propositions respecting Copenhagen had been previously a subject of earnest deliberation, and were entertained with a satisfactory disposition. In my conference with the emperor I shall endeavour to impress the conviction of the sincerity of the British government, and the necessity of putting an end to those inquietudes which mutually distract both governments. I shall delicately but clearly explain, as I did this day, that the desire of friendship proceeds from principle and good will ; and that it is neither created nor influenced by any apprehension of enmity or interior discontent. I shall endeavour to obtain indisputable assurance of the friendly intentions of Russia and then return to England : submitting, however, to the wishes of the emperor as to any temporary protraction of my departure. The spirit of the country is worthy of a great nation which feels unjustly humiliated : and I do not believe that General Savary acquires any partizans. The Prussian officer who is here—Baron de Schoeler—assures me that the emperor is sensible of his situation, and has a just view of the politics of Buonaparte ; but, certainly, Savary retains a great influence : at least, according to appearances, he is much noticed by the sovereign.

I have been assured that the emperor was much satisfied with the state of the army. He certainly found the seven divisions he inspected numerous, and I have no doubt that there is a sufficient number of recruits to complete the whole. The arms sent from England have given the greatest satisfaction, and are most eagerly sought for by the different regiments. I have not been able to ascertain the intentions of Russia with respect to Swedish Finland. The Fin division is marched back to Russian Finland ; but is by no means

suspiciously strengthened or placed. Prince Czartorysky, Count Strogonow, and M. Novosilzow, are in S. Petersburg; the first and last have been very unwell. Count Woronzow has injured his knee, but is doing well, and will walk in a few days. On Sunday next I shall go to Gatschina to be presented to the empress mother, who feels the greatest interest in the success of the present measures of the British government; and who has desired that I shall go to her. On her influence in favour of my undertaking I can rely with certain confidence. Two or three days since a messenger arrived from Corfu, stating that General Cæsar Berthier with a part of the French troops destined for the garrison of that island, had arrived; but that the English had intercepted a part of the remainder on its voyage and prevented the arrival of any more by a strict blockade; that in consequence, General Berthier had demanded the assistance of the remaining Russians to defend the place against the English: the governor therefore sent for instructions to S. Petersburg. Previously to the courier's departure the governor gave a dinner to the Russian and French officers: before the conclusion of it they quarrelled; and so violently that the governor was obliged to decline any similar entertainments.

I am in hopes that the news from Venice will not occasion any further hostile discussions; they are unnecessary if Russia embraces our present propositions. I hope, my dear sir, you will not suppose that I have been indolent here. My brother-in-law—Col. B. W.—to whom you so kindly gave permission to accompany me, will deliver this letter to you: and he can explain the impediments which oppose celerity in my proceedings. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to obtain the objects with which I was charged: and I hope that even if unsuccessful I shall be acquitted of having induced the disappointment.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

With great truth and esteem,

Yours faithfully and gratefully,

R. W

No. 13.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO CAPTAIN ELLIS, COMMANDING
H.M.S. "SPITFIRE," GOTHENBURGH ROADS.

Gothenburg, November 20th, 1807

SIR,

BEING charged with most important despatches, I think it my duty (particularly after having made an attempt in vain to sail in the *Baltic*) to require a vessel of war : as safety from capture and expedition are objects which I am bound to attain as far as possible.

When I left S. Petersburg the British ambassador did not authorize me to direct the detention of Russian ships, as no embargo had been laid on British vessels ; although the declaration forbidding all further amicable intercourse between the two countries was published on the 8th ultimo : but as positive information has since been received of an embargo being ordered at Riga on the 15th, I do most earnestly recommend that all Russian ships of war and also merchant vessels should be prevented from going into any other than British ports if you can enforce obedience ; and whatever responsibility may attach to the execution of this measure I shall most willingly bear it, as far as I can, from you and the officers acting under your instructions.

R. W.

No. 14.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO COLONEL LEWIS BAYLY WALLIS
(possibly).

Brighton, December 15th, 1807.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I WOULD zealously communicate any information that I possessed which could encourage or assist vigorous operations against Russia : being satisfied that our exterior action will facilitate and expedite interior movements necessary to restore to us the alliance of that empire. And moreover if we can prove to Russia that a war with England is not a mere

cessation of commercial intercourse but fatal to her establishments, her ambition, and her glory, we shall turn to profit the moment of apparent ill: since future governments will more seriously weigh the power of our enmity and the value of our friendship. The late generous policy of the British government, already acknowledged with gratitude, will then acquire a just estimation throughout all ranks; and the opinion of the people is of great importance even in the despotic government of Russia. With such sentiments I cannot but regret much my inability to give any useful information, for hearsay is scarcely warrantable authority. I however will state what I know and learnt when in Russia.

Between Riga and Revel two divisions of the army are stationed: and here they were thrown with great precipitation so soon as the news of our fleet having entered the Cattegat was received. At either place an immediate resistance from between 3,000 and 5,000 men must be calculated upon. I have always understood that Revel was assailable: and as every place in Russia is in a ruinous condition, the force of the garrison and not the reputed strength of the works may safely influence military operations. Cronstadt in its present state, notwithstanding the number of its cannon and the strength of the garrison—3,000 men—is scarcely tenable; for the principal battery covering the port is exposed in its whole extent to the sweep of shot, so that no men could after a few rounds stand at the guns: moreover there are but two flights of stairs to ascend upon the battery from the water in the port, and up and down these must the supplies of powder and shot be brought, the reinforcements and the wounded be transported, and the passage be made without any cover from the hostile fire directed upon the battery. These faults of construction were pointed out to the Russians by Dupont, a French engineer sent by Buonaparte in November last to inspect the defences of Cronstadt: but his report was too late for any of the proposed alterations to be undertaken this year; and a British fleet might certainly act against Cronstadt before traverses, &c., &c., could be raised in the spring to remedy the defects.

But in the event of no change having rendered hostile measures unnecessary, operations cannot commence too

speedily after the ice is broken up: for not only Cronstadt, but other advanced points which command a narrow channel through islands in the gulf, and which naval officers have assured me would render any passage to Cronstadt very difficult, will be ably and diligently fortified. I do not believe that there are yet any great stores at Cronstadt; but the emperor once told me that he had resolved to build there all his ships of war: so that a depôt is no doubt forming for a naval arsenal.

Seasons have lately so varied in the Baltic that there is some difficulty in determining when operations may commence: but generally about the middle of March the Düna is open; and the Gulf of Finland towards the end of April is navigable. By good arrangement an admiral might receive very rapid advice of the ice breaking. Archangel has a garrison of about 500 men: and Russia even now attaches much interest to the prosperity of this port, where great quantities of ship timber are collected and where there are considerable stores of corn, &c. The dockyard is apart from the town, and troops must be landed to take possession. From June to September is the only season for operation. No succour is near.

Revel, Cronstadt, and Archangel may be considered as the principal points of attack on the coast of European Russia: for the port of Riga is, I believe, not assailable to a coup de main, on account of a bar at the mouth of the Düna; but otherwise the place appeared to me as very weak on the side of the river. Russia is also vulnerable in this sea to that warfare which England can well direct against her, if a station could be secured in the Baltic for our small craft to refit in; and with this view I took the liberty of suggesting, on my return, the utility of the occupation of the Earthholms.

From Libau to the Neva there is a considerable coasting trade. Active cruisers might entirely interrupt it; and greatly distress the empire, by obliging land carriage for the corn which comes down the Düna from the interior provinces of Russia.

At the same time we might always alarm and frequently throw into consternation the capital, by a squadron with troops on board in the Gulf of Finland. There is a weak-

ness about S. Petersburg which has ever given the greatest inquietude to the court ; and which Sweden has always presumed upon with advantage. The presence of 20,000 troops is scarcely a sufficient security : and no point is better calculated to be acted upon with the double object of distracting the government and exciting the people to revolt.

But it is not to the Baltic and White Sea alone that I would confine operations. Many of the best-informed Russians are of opinion that the destruction of the Russian navy in the Baltic would be an advantage to Russia : and the Admiral Tchichagow is of that advice ; believing that the existence of a navy in the Baltic depends upon the will of England, and that consequently its preservation is rather the interest of England than Russia, since by menacing the destruction she acquires an influence in the politics of Russia, who ought to have no necessary relations with any power.

Whilst the emperor in his palace heard with terror our resounding cannon, courier should succeed courier with disastrous intelligence from the Euxine. All his infant establishments on the Black Sea should be attacked and destroyed ; and a Turkish corps even thrown upon the Crimea, where there are not more than 2,000 men at present, and there is no disposition to reinforce them. Every ship, every store would fall into our hands ; as, throughout, the defences are in extremely bad order and the garrisons very weak. This would be a blow that must disconcert the Russian government more than any other ; and particularly Count Romanzow, whose favourite objects would be thus overthrown, and his promises to the public thus rendered nugatory. We should also acquire immediate and secure permanent advantages : the project of the Turkish and Indian campaign must be retarded by the necessity of providing for the security of the Russian possessions ; and the Persians feeling strength in her weakness, would rather arm against than confederate with her : and inasmuch as it is the policy of Buonaparte to augment the power of Russia in Asia, insomuch is it our advantage to unsettle her from the borders. We have not much time to effect this, probably not sufficient ; but an active admiral may do much before the month of May.

I have thus endeavoured, briefly for the importance of the subject, to acquaint you with the information I possess, and the policy approved by the most intelligent, best-disposed, and considerable personages in Russia, who wish to terminate the present and avoid all future wars with England: and I could almost venture to promise, even in the present state of affairs, the minutest details for military proceedings, without committing the government; if such should be its wish. But whilst, my dear colonel, Europe and Asia engage, they do not, I hope, engross the attention of the British government.

The Brazils would render Great Britain independent of the rest of the world: and we have as much right to take them from Portugal as we had any of the Dutch and Spanish settlements, when the mother countries were not ill-disposed, but too feeble to protect their own independence. I remember to have read that Catherine II. justified her division of Poland by this argument to a prelate who was urging the crime of destroying a sovereign state independent of all earthly power, and which had been guilty of no offence against its neighbours: "Your being here to intercede for your country is a proof that you are not independent: and you can give me no security that one day or another your country may not fall into the hands of those who will be troublesome to us. It is therefore my duty to provide against such an evil whilst I have the power." I should be disposed to gain the blacks: we can depend upon Pagans better than Romish Christians. They are very ill-used in the Brazils and would gladly assist a change. The native Brazilians are also greatly discontented. The prospectus of an appropriate and liberal government would be of more worth than 10,000 men; particularly if led by any "*shallow Richmond*."

There ought to be in the hands of the Government a Russian letter type. We must undeceive the people by our own statements.

Yours, &c., &c.

THE END.